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A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Cadis (al-Nu'mān) in the Tenth Century.—By RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

I. INTRODUCTION.

IN the whole of Mohammedan history there are few epochs quite as interesting as that during which the Shī'a propaganda manifested itself politically in Egypt, maintaining there for more than 200 years a kingdom which was a center of commercial and literary activity. The religious side of this propaganda was kept alive by the usual Alid tergiversations, and from out of this upbuilding came much of the turmoil in which Druse and Ismailian pretensions were hatched.

It seems to have been a somewhat simple matter for the people of Egypt to pass from one system to another. They were willing to take their religion as it was given to them, and at no time do they seem to have thought with Goethe :

“Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen.”

In spite of the large Coptic element in the population,¹ it had not been too difficult a task to impress the faith of the prophet upon the land of the Pharaohs. Egypt is the classic home of the corvée ; and, whether used by an old Pharaoh in dragging his statue to the place of its permanent situation, or by ‘Amr ibn

¹ This has been excellently set forth in Butler's *Arabic Conquest of Egypt*, Oxford, 1902.

al-Āṣī in re-cutting the canal that once joined lower Egypt to the Red Sea, or by Ismail Pasha in helping the French to build a Suez Canal, it shows a more than ordinary apathy on the part of the inhabitants, and a singular willingness to acquiesce quietly in the stings and goads of fortune. In the same manner, it does not seem to have been too difficult for them to pass from the Sunnite faith to the Shi'ite (if faith it may be called), when Jauhar al-Kā'id conquered the country in 969 for his master al-Mu'izz; and they were as ready to fall back again upon the Sunna when the Kurd Saladin, in September, 1171, caused the Khuṭbah to be pronounced in the name of the Abbāsid caliph, al-Mustadī.

One reason for the ease with which these changes were effected must be found in the small difference it made to the people at large whether in the official utterances Ali was blessed or cursed. That was food for the theologians and a tid-bit for the jurists. The lower classes had to live their every-day and humdrum life as they had done in the past; and the differences between Sunnite and Shi'ite actual practice seems to have been small—to us they appear infinitesimal.¹ The geographical writer al-Mukaddasī has an interesting passage on the observances peculiar to the Fatimides.² He says: "There are three classes of Fatimide peculiarities. The first is one in which the (orthodox) Imams were also divided, as the long inserted or supererogatory prayer³ at the morning devotions and the audible recitation of

¹ This is due to the fact that the Shi'a system was developed at a time when the other and canonical legal systems were already in existence. Both the Sunna and the Shi'a, as regards their religious practices, are built up from one and the same basis. See Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 501; id. *Herrschende Ideen*, p. 389.

² In de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. iii, p. 237. 16. On the مذهب اهل البيت see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddamāt* (ed. Beirut, 1886), p. 390. A list of works on Shi'a Fīkh is given by al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 219. On some other and equally minor points of difference, see the end of the poem by Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar al-Baṣrī al-Anṭākī in his كتاب تربين الأسواق published by Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Ši'a in Sitz. Ber. der Wiener Akad.*, vol. lxxviii, p. 520, and compare Tornauw, *Le Droit Musulman*, Paris, 1860, p. 24.

³ De Sacy (*Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. i, p. 162), says that the قنوت is the prayer containing the formula اذا لك قانتون; but see the tradition

the basmallāh,¹ the *witr*² which goes with the rak‘a, and the like. Their second peculiarity is to return to some of the observances of former generations, as the double repetition of the

cited in Lane, col. 2566 افضل الصلات طول القنوت, and al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, vol. i, p. 204, s.v. باب القنوت; al-Shirāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, (ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, Leiden, 1879), p. 24. 21; al-Sha'rānī, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, Cairo, 1281, vol. i, p. 85. It is evident that the قنوت is a sort of supererogatory prayer (the Mohammadans call such يقنت بعد الرفع من الركوع) (نوافل) inserted between the rak‘as (دعااء الركوع). The silent prayer between the rak‘as is called دعاء (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 252). A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 81, calls it “le recueillement,” while Tornauw (*l. c.*, p. 57) explains it thus: “le Kenut, qui consiste à éllever les bras après l’accomplissement des pratiques mükerrenot et à répéter des interjections fervantes. Le Kenut n’est point obligatoire.” See, also, Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, pp. 101. 1; 482. 2. Curiously enough, Muhammad ibn Alḥmad al-Khuwārazmī in his *Mafātīh al-‘Ulūm* (ed. Van Vloten, 1895), p. 11, says القنوت دعاء الوتر!

¹ See the traditions on this point in al-Bukhārī, vol. i, pp. 197, 198, 201, and al-Nawāwī, as cited by Goldziher, *Beiträge*, pp. 457, 522, and in Ibn Sa‘d, vol. v. (Leiden, 1905) p. 266 (when Mohammed recited the first Sura he was not heard to add the basmallah. Asked about this, he answered: (لو اسررتها لجهت بها)). Until the year 253 A. H. the basmallah was recited aloud in *Fustāṭ*; then a change was made; but al-Jauhar reintroduced the older practice in 302 A. H.; see de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 162. The Shāfi‘ite practice was in this respect, as in so many others, in consonance with that of the Shī‘a. See the quotation from Abu-l-Fidā on p. 220, n. 3; and Abū al-Nakīb al-Tunturī مختصر الحاوي (Kazan, 1899), p. 8f. Al-Zamakhsharī (*al-Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, vol. i, p. 5), has an interesting note upon the different usage in this respect. According to him, the difference depended upon the question whether the basmallah was or was not an integral part of the Sura; the “readers” (قراء) of Medina, Baṣra and Damascus held that it was not, and therefore did not read it aloud when it occurred in a prayer (ولذلك لا يجهر بها عندهم في الصلاة); but those of Mecca and Kufa did. See, also, al-Baiḍāwī, vol. i, p. 3.

² The وتر is a prayer accompanied by an uneven number of rak‘as—from one up to eleven. See al-Shirāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 27. 5.

ikāma which the Banū Umayya had reduced to one;¹ the wearing of white, which the Banū al-‘Abbās had changed to black.² The third peculiarity is to follow such customs as the Imāms had indeed not prohibited, though they had not been known before this time : e. g., to use the expression حَيْ عَلَى الصلوة “Come to prayer !” in the adhān ;³ to celebrate that day as the first of the month on which the new moon is sighted ;⁴ and to accompany the prayer said at an eclipse with five rak’as and two sujūds to every rak’ā.⁵

The religious and juridic rite originally followed by the Mohammedans in Egypt had been that of Mālik ibn Anas ;

¹ The اقامة is the call to prayer which immediately follows the اذان. See Dozy, vol. ii, p. 424; Tornauw, *Le Droit Musulman*, p. 57: “Après le azon on prononce l’ekomeh. Ce sont les mêmes paroles: Allah Akber—seulement dans l’ekomeh on ne jette l’exclamation que deux fois, tandis qu’on la repète quatre fois dans l’azon.” A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 66.

² See the material upon the various colors affected by different Muhammedan parties which I have collected in ZA., vol. xiii, p. 194, note 1, and vol. xiv, p. 223, note 7. The change to white dress was immediately introduced upon al-Jauhar’s gaining possession of the mosque of ‘Amr (الجامع العتيق) in Fostāt. See Stanley Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 103 and the following note.

³ According to Abu-l-Fidā the expression was حَيْ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَل وَفِي جَمَادِي الْأُولَى مِنْ سَنَةِ تَسْعَةِ وَخَمْسِين (vol. ii, p. 498). He says (vol. ii, p. 498) وَثَلَاثَةٌ قَدَمْ جَوَهْرَ إِلَى جَامِعِ أَبْنِ طَلْوَنْ وَامْرَ بَادْنَ فِيهِ بَحْرَى عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَل. ثُمَّ اذْنَ بَعْدَهُ فِي الجَامِعِ الْعَتِيقِ بِذَلِكَ فَجَهْرٌ فِي الْصَّلَاةِ بِسَمْنِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. The same account

is found in *Ibn Sa’d*, ed. Tallqvist, p. 77. See, also, JA. 1886, 3, p. 57, *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. i, p. 344, and *Ibn Khaldūn*, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, vol. iv, p. ۳۸; and especially *al-Makrīzī*, *Khitāṭ*, vol. ii, pp. 340, 342, and the full account, *ib.* p. 269.

⁴ See de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. i, p. 161.

⁵ On the Sunnite practice, see *al-Bukhārī*, l. c., vol. i, pp. ۴۷۳ and ۱۹۳, and Muhammad ibn ‘Alī Ṣiddīk Ḥasan *Fatḥ al-‘Ulām* لشرح بلوغ المرام, vol. i, p. 221. On the different customs, see *al-Sha’rānī*, *Kitāb al-Mizān*, vol. i, p. ۴۷۳.

but when in 813 Muhammad al-Shāfi‘ī came to settle definitely in Fostāt, his legal doctrines commenced to gain prevalence¹ and they remained prevalent until in the 16th century the Turks introduced the Hanafite system.² Upon the arrival of al-Mu‘izz, it was natural that this should be changed. But the Fatimides seem to have been rather large-minded in this respect, if ‘not in others.’³ They were sufficiently latitudinarian to allow all the four forms of Mohammedan canon law to be taught in the schools and to be used by the adherents of different parties.⁴ From the time of al-Mustansır on, we read of Shāfi‘ite doctors being appointed to the chief cadiship.⁵ Al-Mu‘izz himself seems to have gone slowly in forcing upon the country Shī‘ite practices. The cadi whom he found in office, Abū Tāhir, received permission to continue his functions. Probably he fitted himself conveniently into the changed circumstances; for it is related that he came to Alexandria and greeted the new caliph in a somewhat ostentatious manner. Al-Makrīzī is quite explicit in his statement that Shī‘ite law was first taught in Cairo by the son of the Fatimide cadi whom al-Mu‘izz had brought with him. “Fatimide law,” he says, “according to Shī‘ite doctrine was first taught at the Azhar in Safar 365 (975), when ‘Alī Ibn al-Nu‘mān, the cadi, sat in the Cairo mosque known as the Azhar and dictated a compendium of law composed by his father for the Shī‘ites.”⁶ This work was called *al-Iktiṣār*.⁷

¹ al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 334.

² See Snouck-Hurgronje in ZDMG., vol. liii, p. 134.

³ See Guyard in JA., 1877, 1, p. 335.

⁴ In the year 425 A.H. four cadis were appointed: An Imāmī, an Isma‘ili, a Malikite and a Shāfi‘ite. See al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 343 et seq.

⁵ The Shī‘a naturally looked with more favour upon the Shāfi‘ite system, because of the position the latter took in regard to the use of the قياس. See Goldziher, *Beiträge*, pp. 485, 500.

⁶ اهـل الـبـيـت , a favorite designation with which the Shī‘a glorified its political leaders. They, therefore, speak of the سـنة اهـل الـبـيـت , see Goldziher in ZDMG., vol. xxxvi, p. 279.

⁷ I have the quotation from Muṣṭafa Bairam’s سـالـة on the Azhar Mosque (Cairo, 1321 A. H.), p. 23. [See *al-Khiṭāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 341.] The title of this work is said by Ibn Khallikān (vol. iii, p. 565) to have been ‘*al-Intiṣār*;’ see further on p. 228.

Ya'kūb ibn Killis (the renegade Jew and the first Fatimide vizier¹) went further than did his master. During the reign of al-'Aziz, the son of al-Mu'izz, the Caliph compelled—as al-Makrīzī also tells us—all the poets, philosophers, and learned men to come to his house and listen to the exposition of a little book that Ibn Killis had put together containing whatever of Ismaili canon law he had heard from al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz. On Tuesdays and on Fridays he was accustomed to hold a special levee, at which he expounded Fatimide theories. The caliph made attendance at these levees compulsory upon the learned men and the doctors; a special building being erected for that purpose next to the Azhar. During the reign of al-Hākim, the people were in such dread of their ruler that they joined the Shī'a in large numbers and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nu'mān had to hold daily sessions, at which the initiated were received.² The theologians had evidently gained the upper hand; and how stringent the spirit was liable to become may be seen from the fact that in the year 381 (991) a man was actually driven from the city because a copy of Mālik's *al-Muwatta* had been found in his possession.³ In the year 380 (990) a special *Jāmi'*—called *al-Jāmi'* *al-Hākimī* was erected for the benefit of the Shī'a propaganda; but it was not finished until the year 403 (1012).⁴

As all Mohammedan law is really canonical law, the commander of the ship of state had to depend very largely upon his steersman at the helm. That steersman was usually and naturally the cadi, and the cadi at first had a position second only to that of the caliph himself. If al-Makrīzī is to be credited, al-Mu'izz had no vizier at all; and the duty of spreading Shī'a doctrine and of consolidating Shī'a practices devolved upon the cadi. The position that he held was therefore an important one; and, in addition, at times the superintendency of the mint and of the bureau of weights and measures was also in his hands. After a while the cadi also became the chief

¹ al-Makrīzī in *Jamaleddinni Togri-Bardii Annales*, ed. J. E. Carlyle (Cantab. 1792), Notes, p. 5.

² De Sacy, *Les Druses*, p. cxxi.

³ Muṣṭafa Bairam, *l. c.*, p. 23, *al-Khiṭāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 341.

⁴ al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 277; Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptorum Arabicarum*, p. 50.

preacher.¹ The holders of the office must therefore have been men of some significance, and their history is closely intertwined with that of the country itself. August Müller, in speaking of the Barmecides, and the services that they rendered to the Abbāsid caliphate of Bagdad, calls attention to the fact that

¹ Upon the various functions attributed to the cadi in addition to the judgeship, see the instructive remarks of Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddamat*, p. ۱۹۳ below. Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Kalḳashandī, in his work on the geography and administration of Egypt, (at least in the part translated by Wüstenfeld in *Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss.* Göttingen, 1879, p. 184) speaks only of the surveillance of the markets being at times in his hands. Happily, the whole of this informing work is in course of publication by the Khedivial Library in Cairo. The importance of the “Chief Preacher” in the Fatimide period is justly brought out by al-Makrīzī (*al-Khiṭāṭ*, vol. i, p. 390; see, also, De Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 140); upon him rested a good part of the onus to propagate Shi'a doctrines. Al-Kalḳashandī seems to know nothing of the union of the offices of وَدَاعِي الدُّعَاء and قاضِي الْقَضَاۃ : but al-Makrīzī has the following :

وَيَكُونُ فِي بَعْضِ الْأَوقَاتِ دَاعِيَا فِي قِيَالٍ لَهُ حِينَئِدْ قاضِي الْقَضَاۃ . وَدَاعِيِ الدُّعَاء . Theoretically, it was the vizier to whom the functions of the cadi belonged (see Māwardī, *Constitutiones politicae*, ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 39, 1); if he was unwilling to exercise the functions he could appoint deputies. This must be the meaning of al-Makrīzī (*Khiṭāṭ*, vol. i, p. 403) :

وَكَانَ مِنْ عَادَةِ الدُّولَةِ أَنَّهُ إِذَا كَانَ وزَيْرٌ :

رب سيف فائخ يقلد القضاۃ رجلا نیابة عنه. But historically, the union of the two offices (viziership and cadiship) occurred only in a few cases ; al-Kalḳashandī, in his account of the *wazīr* (*l. c.*, p. 181) knows nothing of it. Aḥmad ibn Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ghumrī in his *ذخیرة الاعلام* (Paris Ms. 1850) mentions the cases of Aḥmad ibn Zakarīyā and Ibrāhīm ibn Kudaina. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās recalls that al-Yāzūrī, at the time of the Fatimid al-Mustanṣir, filled both offices :

خلع على القاضي ابو محمد الحسن بن على البازوري واستقرّ به وزيراً وقاضي قضا الشافعية Paris Ms. 1822).

According to al-Shirāzī, the ultimate authority in the appointing of a cadi was vested in the spiritual or virtual head of the community :

ولا يصح القضاء الا بتولية الامام او من فرض اليه الامام (l. c., p. 313, 3).

for more than fifty years this family was in the service of the state. He adds : "Das ist meines Wissens sonst überhaupt nicht und anderswo selten genug dagewesen."¹ It is therefore not without interest to see that in the early years of the Fatimides, and for a term covering more than eighty years, the office of cadi was held (with periods of intermission) by members of one and the same family, named al-Nu'mān ; and I have tried in the following paper to reconstruct the history of this family from both printed and manuscript sources.

In addition to the individual biographies of cadis in such dictionaries as that of Ibn Khallikān and its continuation by Muḥammad Ibn Shākir al-Kutubi,² the history of the cadis in the chief Islamic centers formed a special branch of Mohamme-dan biographical science. In his chapter on 'Ilm al-Ta'rīkh,³ Hāji Khalifa divides this science into the following categories: 1, the general history of the cadis ; 2, the history of the cadis of Egypt ; 3, the history of the cadis of Bagdad ; 4, the history of the cadis of Baṣra ; 5, the history of the cadis of Cordova ; and 6, the history of the cadis of Damascus.

The history of the Egyptian cadis seems first to have been written by Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'kūb al-Kindī down to the year 246 A. H. (860).⁴ This was continued by Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zūlāk, who carried it down to and through the biography of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān (386 A. H., i. e. 996). Hāji Khalifa says that an appendix to this work of Ibn Zūlāk was written by Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hajar⁵ up to the year 852 A. H. (1448) under the title

¹ *Der Islam*, vol. 1, p. 465.

² *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāk, 1283 and 1289 A. H.

³ Ed. Flügel, vol. ii, p. 97.

⁴ A Ms. of this work is in the British Museum ; see de Goeje in ZDMG. vol. 1, p. 741. Al-Kindī's *كتاب مصر وفضائلها* was published in 1896 by J. Östrupp, (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale*, Copenhagen, 1896, No. 4), who has made it probable that this little tract of Abū 'Umar was published by his son 'Umar al-Kindī.

⁵ Abū-l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Hajar was born in Ascalon (al-'Asqalānī) in 1372 and officiated as Chief Cadi in Cairo from 1424 to 1449. This will explain his interest in the history of his predecessors in office. He was a most fruitful writer on ḥadīth, and biography—as well as something of a poet. See a list of his works in

رُفْعُ الْاِصْرَ فِي قِصَّةِ مِصْرٍ. This work of Ibn Ḥajar seems to be more than a mere appendix. It is really a biographical dictionary, arranged in alphabetical order, and probably contains all the data to be found in the preceding works.¹ The *Raf' al-Isr'* was continued by the author's pupil, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhawī, who entitled his work **بِغْيَةُ الْعُلَمَاءِ وَالرُّوَاةِ** (That which is desired in regard to the, etc.).² It seems a pity that the work of Ibn Zūlāk has not come down to us; al-Siyūtī and Ibn Khallikān evidently made use of it, as they cite it several times.³ Nor has Ibn Zūlāk's other work, **تَأْرِيخُ مِصْرٍ وَفَضَائِلِهَا**, shared a better fate. I can not believe that the Paris Ms. 1817⁴ is really the work of so

Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 67. A very full account of the literary activity of Ibn Ḥajar can be found in his biography written by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Ali al-Shāhawī (Ms. Paris, No. 2105, fol. 191 b. et seq.—a voluminous work). Cf. also Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, 2, pp. 209 et seq.

¹ Those portions which deal with the family al-Nu'mān will be found below, both in text and in translation based upon the Paris Ms. No. 2149. A second (and more correct) Ms. has lately been added to the same collection from the library of the late Ch. Schefer. It is numbered 5893.

No. 2152 of the same collection, containing **النَّجُومُ الْمَرْاهِةُ بِتَلْخِيصِ أَخْبَارِ قِصَّةِ مِصْرٍ وَالقَاهِرَةِ** by Ibn Ḥajar's grandson, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Shāhīn, is practically identical with the work of Ibn Ḥajar; despite the author's remarks in the preface that his grandfather's work was incomplete because death prevented him from making a thorough revision. The two Mss. of Ibn Shāhīn that I have examined (Paris 2152 and Berlin 9819) are very similar and are evidently of the same provenance. They are very correct, the Paris Ms. having been revised by the author; though they are difficult of use for text-critical purposes, as the diacritical points are wanting for the most part and the script is minute.

² A *mukhtaṣar* of this was composed by 'Ali ibn al-Lutf al-Shāfi'i. See Hājī Khalīfa, vol. iii, p. 473; vol. iv, p. 561.

³ See, also, Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, i. p. 14.

⁴ **تَأْرِيخُ مِصْرٍ وَفَضَائِلِهَا لَابْنِ زَوْلَاقَ**. On Ibn Zūlāk see Ibn Khalīka (de Slane's translation) vol. i, p. 388—who mentions only his topographical description of Egypt and his history of the Egyptian cadis. The latter, it is known, was merely a continuation of a work with the same title by al-Kindī.

important an authority as Ibn Zūlāk seems to have been. It is hardly of more worth than Ms. 1816 of the same library, and of which the compilers of the catalogue very properly say “*cet opuscule ne renferme que des fables.*”¹ I may also mention Ms. 1819; which the catalogue describes as identical with Ms. 1817.²

At a later date Ahmad ibn Sa'd al-Din al-Ghumrī al-Shāfi'i wrote a history of Egypt down to the year 1640 in double *rajaz* verses, with the dates given in the form of chronograms.³ To this he appended a list of the cadis. To write such and many other things in verse was often an affectation of an Arab writer. Even before the time of al-Ghumrī, a similar thing had been done by one Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl al-Mausili al-Khuza'i (died November, 1310), an oculist in Cairo, dealing specifically with the cadis of Egypt in ninety-nine verses of a like kind⁴; to which al-Siyūti added those who had officiated from the time of Badr al-Jamā'a up to his own day (1481).⁵ Probably more important than these works must have been a history of Egypt written by Muḥammad ibn Abī-

¹ Catalogue, p. 330. .كتاب فضائل مصر واخبارها وخواصها .

² جواهر البحور وواقع الامور وعجائب الدبور واخبار الدبار .

³ المصرية . Another Ms. of this work is described in Flügel, *Die arabischen . . . Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. ii, p. 148. See, also, Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vol. vi, p. 460. A renewed examination of Paris Ms. 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820 has convinced me that not one of them can really claim to be the work of Ibn Zūlāk. Nos. 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820 exhibit practically one and the same text; 1817 and 1819 going back to one and the same Ms. As these discuss events as far down as the Ottoman invasion, it is impossible that 1817 is by Ibn Zūlāk. Nos. 1816 and 1818 are for a great part merely a shorter and a longer recension of one and the same treatise. No. 1816, fol. 45b mentions the 'Ukūd al-Duriyya of al-Jazzār, who died in 1281 A.D.! I hope to return to Ibn Zūlāk upon another occasion.

⁴ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. ii, p. 297. There are some 9,000 verses in the Berlin Ms. of this work. See Ahlwardt's Catalogue, No. 9831. I have given, further on, that portion which deals with the al-Nu'mān family, taken from Paris Ms. No. 1850.

⁵ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. ii, p. 8. They form the basis for Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf' al-Isr*, and are there cited in full.

⁶ Both are printed in al-Siyūti's *Huṣn al-Muḥāḍara* (Cairo, 1321), vol. ii, pp. 117-121.

I-Kāsim ‘Ubaid Allāh ibn Ahmad al-Musabbihī (976–1029).¹ This work, entitled كتاب أخبار مصر وفضائلها is said to have comprised some 26,000 pages, and is frequently quoted as one of the best authorities; but only an occasional part has remained to testify to its worth. There are, of course, plentiful notices about the Egyptian cadis in the monumental work of al-Makrīzī (1364–1442; *al-Khitāt*); and al-Siyūtī in his *Huṣn al-Muḥādara* has a special chapter, headed ذكر قضاة مصر.² The material for this present study has been gotten chiefly from the dictionary of the Egyptian cadis by Ibn Hajar, from the biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikān, from the *Khitāt* of al-Makrizi, and from the short notices on the family to be found in Ibn Khaldūn’s *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*, vol. iv (p. 55). Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Hajar have evidently used very much the same sources—Ibn Zūlāk and al-Musabbihī.

II. THE FAMILY OF AL-NU‘MĀN.

Kāfūr the Irshīd had placed Abū Tāhir Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Baghdādī al-Dihlī al-Mālikī in office as cadi during the year 348 A.H. He remained cadi, some say for sixteen, others for eighteen years. When al-Mu‘izz came to Egypt on Sha‘bān 23, 362 (May 29, 973), he brought with him his own cadi, al-Nu‘mān.³ The father of al-Nu‘mān, Abū

¹ His biography is given in Tallqvist, *Fragmente des Ibn Sa‘d*, pp. 96–99; 102–104; Ibn Khallikān (transl.) vol. iii, p. 87. He lived 976–1029. See, also, Becker, *l. c.*, i, pp. 16, 32 et al. It is well known that the name is often found in MSS. as المسيكي. For the correct pronunciation, in addition to the authorities quoted by Becker, *l. c.*, p. 16, note 3, see Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 90, and al-Dhahabī, *al-Muṣṭabīh*, ed. P. de Jong., 1881 p. 48^{۲۳}.

² Ed. Cairo, 1321 A.H., vol. ii, p. 95.

³ According to Abu-l-Mahāsin (vol. ii, p. 488) al-Nu‘mān was originally a follower of the Hanifite School.

النعمان بن محمد أبو الحنفية المغربي الباطنی قاضی مملکة المعز وكان حنفی المذهب لأنّ العرب كان يوم ذاك غالبة حنفیة الى ان حمل الناس على مذهب مالک فقط . He is here designated as belonging to the Bāṭiniyya; which, I believe, is merely the equivalent of the ordinary term

Hanīfa, was himself a well-known littérateur, who had died at the advanced age of 104. Al-Nu'mān had acted as cadi to the army of the Fatimides on its journey from the land of the Berbers ; but Abū Tāhir came to Alexandria to meet al-Mu'izz, and seems to have pleased al-Mu'izz so much that he was allowed to continue in office.¹ Ibn Nu'mān had thus little to do ; but occasionally he was called upon to revise the judgments given by Abū Tāhir. One of these cases must have occurred in the year 974, for he died before the case was concluded, either on Rajab 1, or on the last day of Jumāda 363 A.H.² Al-Nu'mān seems to have been a learned jurist. At first an adherent of the school of Mālik, at a later time he adapted himself to the Shī'a teachings of his master, al-Mu'izz. To his first period belongs a work **كتاب اختلاف اصول المذاهب** dealing with the different principles upon which the various schools founded their systems. He then became an ardent Fatimide, and placed his pen in its service, writing a work **اختلاف الفقهاء** upon the differences between the jurists, in which he defended the Shī'a claims. To the same class belongs his **كتاب ابتداء الدعوة العبيدية**,³ an account of the first preaching of Fatimide doctrines. Two further juridic works written by him are mentioned : **كتاب الانتصار** and **كتاب الاخبار** (The Triumph or Vindicator) ; but to what subject they refer, we do not know ; and a poetic piece **المنتخب** (Choice Selection). Only one of his writings

اسماعيلي . Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal-w-al-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. ۱۴۷ : **الباطنية** وهم يقولون خن اسماعيلية Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Khuwārazmī مفاتيح العلوم (ed. G. Van Vloten) 1895, p. ۳۱ : **الاسماعيلية وهم الباطنية** .

¹ Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 379 : *Huṣn*, vol. ii, p. 101.

² See the case cited by Ibn Ḥajar. According to the latter, this occurred on the 25th day of the month : but the name of the month is not given.

³ Or, perhaps more correctly ; **كتاب افتتاح الدعوة الظاهرية** as given by al-Maqrīzī in his **كتاب المقتني** . A small extract from this work is given by Quatremère in JA. 1836, ii, p. 123. See, also, Brockelmann, *l. c.* vol. 1, p. 188.

شرح الاخبار في فضائل النبي on law seems to have been spared on the excellency of the prophet and the claims of Ali, which may be the كتاب الاخبار mentioned above;¹ while of his three polemical work against Abū Hanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfi‘ī and al-Suraij,² one may be the كتاب الانصار. He is also said to have written a work on the “meritorious and disgraceful acts (committed by the Arabian tribes).” He is praised by Ibn Zūlāk for his knowledge of the Koran, of Arabic poetry, philology, pre-Islamic history, and jurisprudence. He left several sons, two of whom followed him in the office of cadi.

Abū Tāhir was evidently growing old, and al-Mu‘izz gave him as assistant or associate the son of al-Nu‘mān, Abū al-Hasan [†]‘Alī. ‘Alī was born in Rajab 328 (940),³ probably in Mahdiyya, the city in which the dynasty took its rise. He officiated in the Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīk in old Cairo, while Abū Tāhir had his own Majlis. When al-Mu‘izz died, in 365 A. H. (975), his successor al-‘Azīz confirmed the arrangement made by his father. In addition, Abū al-Husain was appointed over the mint,⁴ an office often committed to the care of the cadi in those days, as well as over the two mosques, probably the one in Fostāt and the other in Cairo. This double authority could naturally not last long. A case is mentioned where Abū Tāhir imprisoned certain persons, who however appealed to ‘Alī and were set free. As age and disease crept over him, Abū Tāhir had to be carried about; and one day he met the caliph at the Bab al-Diyāfa⁵ and asked him to

¹ Berlin Ms. No. 9662, though this seems to contain only an extract from the larger work on “die Vorzüglichkeit des Profeten und die Berechtigung Ali’s auf die Nachfolgerschaft.”

² *Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 218.

³ Ibn Khallikān, however, says Rabī‘ i. 329.

⁴ On the situation of the دارالغضب see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khitāṭ*, vol. i, pp. 406, 445; Ravisse, *Essai sur l’histoire et sur la topographie du Caire*, p. 76; P. Casanova, *Histoire et Description de la Citadelle du Caire*, p. 720.

⁵ The *Bāb al-Diyāfa* must have been near to the citadel. There was a palace called *Dār al-Diyāfa*. See Casanova, *La citadelle du Caire* in the Mémoires of the *Mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. vi, p. 738, and Ibn Iyās, *كتاب تاريخ مصر* (Būlāk 1311, A.H.), vol. i, pp.

147, 4; 310, 18. Ibn Khallikān says “near the *Dār al-Šanā‘a*” (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khitāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 178).

appoint his son *Abū al-*‘Alā as his substitute. This favor was denied and after three days¹ he was deposed and the sole cadiship was given to Ali. It seems, however, that Ali's power was at that time not quite complete. The friends and patrons of *Abū Tāhir* interceded for him, and he continued his functions in his own house, perhaps revising the judgments given in other courts. Ali was now publicly invested in the two mosques ; in that of old Cairo it was his own brother Mohammed who read out his diploma. His appointment was complete not only over all Egypt, but over those countries also subject to the Egyptian Caliph. In addition he was appointed chief preacher, inspector of gold and silver, and controller of weights and measures. Ali, himself, soon needed assistance. His brother Mohammed was appointed to be his deputy in *Tinnīs*, Damietta and *Faramā*; while a second deputy was added in the person of *al-Hasan ibn Halil*. The latter was a follower of *al-Shāfi‘ī* ; but a special order was given him to decide according to the *Shī‘a* rite.²

In the year 367³ the caliph *al-*‘Azīz was called to Syria to quell the revolt of the Carmathians, whom his lieutenant, *Jauhar*, had been unable to hold in check. He took his cadi, Ali, with him, and Ali's brother Mohammed was appointed his substitute during his absence. Some enemies spread the report that he had in reality been superseded ; and from where he was with the army he was forced to send word to the prefect of police, *Hasan ibn al-Kāsim*, asking him to deny the rumor and to strengthen the hand of his brother. Ali was upon very friendly terms not only with *al-*‘Aziz, but also with his vizier, *Jacob ibn Killis*. It is said that he was the first to bear the title “Chief Cadi” in his diploma.⁴ Before his time the title had been granted only to the cadi at Bagdad. Ali died on

¹ Ibn Khallikān has “two days.”

² See supra, p. 218, note 2.

³ Not 368, as Ibn Ḥajar has. See Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden Califén*, p. 138-9 ; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn* (Leiden, 1886), p. 192.

⁴ *Husn*, vol. ii, p. 101. He seems to have been recognized as chief cadi, though the title was not given to him in his diploma. According to Ibn Khallikān (vol. iv, p. 273), the celebrated *Abū Yūsuf Ya‘kūb al-Anṣārī*, the author of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, was the first to have the title **قاضي القضاة**.

Rajab the 6, 374 (Dec. 3, 984). Al-‘Azīz, who was in camp at al-Jubb, a plain near Cairo, where all sorts of assemblies popular and military were held,¹ came to the city, and himself said the prayers over the corpse, which was then buried in the Hamrā.² He was a well educated man, learned in jurisprudence, philology, polite literature and poetry.³ In fact, he was something of a poet himself, and a few of his verses are cited by al-Tha‘ālibī in his *Yatimat al-Dahr*, by Abū al-Hasan al-Bakharzī,⁴ and by Ibn Zūlāk.

Ali’s brother, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muhammad, who had acted as his substitute while he was in Syria, was formally appointed cadi on Friday, Rajab 22, 374—the office having been vacant for 17 days on account of the sickness of the new cadi. Born in the Maghrib, various stories are told that as a boy he had been singled out by Al-Mu‘izz for the position that he now occupied. He must have been a man of some abilities to have held so important a post. He was constitutionally weak-bodied and was compelled to ride about in a palanquin. In this manner he was carried to the camp of al-‘Azīz for investiture; and he was even unable to be present when his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz read out his diploma in the Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīk at Fostāt. In this diploma he was appointed chief cadi over the whole of Egypt and the Syrian possessions of the Fatimides; he was also leader in prayer, inspector of gold and silver, and controller of weights and measures as his brother had been. Not being able to attend to all his duties, he devolved some of them upon his nephew, Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Husain ibn ‘Alī, who was to hear cases in the Jāmi‘ al-Hākimī. At the suggestion of the caliph himself, he appointed his son, Abū al-Kāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz to be his representative in Alexandria. He stood high in favor with the government; his son, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz being married to the daughter of

¹ Really *Jubb ‘Amīra*, Yākūt, vol. ii, p. 18, 4: وجّه عَمِيرَةٌ قَرِيبٌ مِنْ بُرْكَةِ الْجَبَّ أَلِيَّاً الْحَاجَ وَالْعَسَكَرِ is mentioned by al-Makrizi. See de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 187.

² Yākūt, vol. ii, p. 333, 3 says simply والْحَمْرَاءُ إِيْضًا بِفَسْطَاطِ مَصْرُ.

³ It is remarkable that Ibn Hajar has nothing to say about his literary attainments.

⁴ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 252.

Jauhar the Kā'id, at a levee held by the caliph himself (Friday, Jumāda 1, 375 = September 19, 985). It is even related that upon one occasion (Jan. 5, 996) he accompanied the caliph into the pulpit ; and when al-'Azīz died in 386 A. H. (996) Muḥammad had the honor of washing his corpse.¹ This naturally excited the jealousy of the vizier Ibn Killis, who was afraid of the growing power of the al-Nu'mān family. Muḥammad, however, succeeded in maintaining his position even under al-Hākim, the successor of al-'Azīz ; being high in the favor of the eunuch Barjawān, the tutor of the young prince. He was also quite intent to advance his own immediate family. In Jumāda 1, 377 (Sept. 7, 987) he removed his nephew Abū 'Abdallāh, to whom he had given over some of his functions, and placed in his stead his own son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, giving him authority to act as judge on Mondays and Thursdays. In Muharram 383 (Feb. 993), he increased the authority of 'Abd al-'Azīz by allowing his son to sit as judge on every day.

This power of the cadi was distasteful also to the theologians and the jurists ; for he forced people to address him with the title سَيِّدُنَا, “Our lord.”² Ibn Ḥajar seems to refer to some such dispute that occurred in the year 382. Muḥammad had appointed a certain Ja'far to publish the religious enactments in the Jāmi‘ according to the Meccan rite.³ To this the Fakīhs objected ; but their objection was overruled in a summary manner.

On account of his physical weakness he was unable to attend to much of his work during his latter years. He is said to have been of fine appearance, noble in his bearing and a ready giver of alms. Ibn Zūlāk pays him the compliment of saying that he knew of no cadi, either in Egypt or in 'Irāk, who could be called his equal. Though learned in all the Moslem sciences,⁴

¹ When the Caliph al-'Azīz felt his end approaching, he recommended his son al-Hākim to Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān and to Abū Muḥammad al-Hasan ibn Ammār, the Amīr al-Daula. See Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 528.

² On the use of this title, see Van Berchem, *l. c.*, pp. 385, 386.

³ I am not certain to what rite reference is made here—probably to that of the Zaidite sect. The Sharifs of Mecca afterwards went over to Shāfi'i practices. See Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. ii, p. 251 f.

⁴ He lectured upon Shī'a law and doctrine. So many people crowded to hear him upon one occasion that a number were killed in the crush.

he left no work behind him ; but he followed the Arabic custom of writing poetry, a verse or two of which have been handed down. Al-Musabbiḥī, however, did not think much of his poetic talents. He died on Tuesday evening, Ṣafar the fourth, 389 (Jan. 25, 999), having been in office 14 years, 6 months and 10 days. Al-Hākim, himself, said the customary prayers over his body. He was buried at first in his own house and then on Ramadān the ninth (August) his corpse was transferred to the Karāfa cemetery.¹ His palace was given to one of the friends of al-Hākim, and all his possessions were sold in order to pay the money of orphans and minors that had been deposited with him.²

For some reason no chief cadi was immediately appointed to succeed Mohammed. According to Ibn Hajar, who follows al-Musabbiḥī,³ the interregnum lasted for seventeen days ; according to Ibn Khallikān for more than a month. On Ṣafar the 23,⁴ Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Husain, the son of ‘Alī, who had held

وفي ربيع الأول سنة : الْمَكْرِزِيُّ، اَعْلَمُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَثَلَاثَةِ مَوْلَانَى وَالْمُسَبِّبِيُّ، عَلَى حُكْمِهِ، بِالْقَصْرِ لِقَرَأَةِ عِلْمِ آلِ الْبَيْتِ عَلَى الرِّسْمِ الْمُعْتَادِ الْمُتَقْدَمِ كُرْسِيًّا وَلَا خِيَةً بِمَصْرٍ وَلَا يَبِهَ بِالْمَغْرِبِ فَمَا تَفَاهَ فِي الرِّزْمَةِ اَحَدُ عَشَرَ لَهُ وَلَا خِيَةً بِمَصْرٍ وَلَا يَبِهَ بِالْمَغْرِبِ فَمَا تَفَاهَ فِي الرِّزْمَةِ اَحَدُ عَشَرَ (al-Khiṭāṭ, vol. i, p. 390, top, and de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 189).

¹ To the south of Cairo. See Yākūt, vol. iv, p. 48 ; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 443; Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic MSS.*, p. 448; Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 26.

² It was customary to deposit in the chancellerie of the cadi moneys belonging to orphans or to persons who were absent. See Māwardī, *l. c.*, p. ۱۱۸, in the chapter headed **فِي وِلَايَةِ الْقَضَاءِ**. Such moneys could not be loaned out ; though this was, of course, occasionally done under pressure. Al-Maḳrīzī relates one such incident in the life of Saladin. In the year ۵۹۰ A.H. he needed money for one of his campaigns ; so he forced the cadi Zain al-Dīn to take 14,000 dīnārs that were in his keeping and give them to him. See Blochet in *Revue de l'orient Latin*, vol. ix, p. 76.

³ He says expressly that al-Husain was nominated on Ṣafar 27.

⁴ And not on Rabi‘ 6, as Ibn Khallikān says—who seems to know very little about this cadi.

partial office for a time under his uncle Mohammed, was appointed cadi by the all-powerful Barjawān. His diploma read that he was appointed to act for Cairo, Fostāt, Alexandria, Syria, Arabia, and the whole West.¹ He had been born in Mahdīyya in Dhulhijja, 353. He does not seem at first to have exercised all the functions of his office, a certain ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn al-Nu‘mān having the authority over criminal cases. If this is his cousin, the Kunya “Ibn ‘Umar” is wrong; perhaps it was some distant relative. A few years later, he placed Al-Ḥusain ibn Muhammad ibn Tāhir to be judge in Old Cairo, Mālik ibn Sa‘id al-Fārikī in New Cairo, and his brother, who is called simply al-Nu‘mān, in Alexandria. It is not apparent why he should in this manner have delegated to others so many of his functions.² But he was evidently harsh in his judgment, for in Ṣafar 391 (1000), or 393 (1002),³ he was treacherously attacked and wounded in the Jāmi‘ by a Spaniard, so that in future he had to be protected by a body guard. In spite of this, he seems to have been well in the favor of the caliph al-Ḥākim, who gave him a house near to the Khalīj al-Ḥākimī.⁴ He was the first Fatimide cadi to be appointed chief preacher; in addition, he was inspector of the mint and chief secretary. It was his own harshness of manner that caused his downfall. A man who brought a case before him had been wanting in due respect. At the order of the cadi the man was bastinadoed with 1800 strokes so that he died, and al-Ḥākim commenced gradually to shear him of his prerogatives. According to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Rakīk, it was his lust for money that really caused his downfall.

¹ In the diploma of Muhammad ibn al-Nu‘mān nothing had been said about the Maghrib. It is, however, mentioned in that of ‘Ali. Of course, a cadi could exercise his functions only over the districts mentioned in his diploma. See Tornauw, *Le Droit Musulman*, p. 243. Al-Ḥusain was the first to have the title قاضي القضاة given to him officially.

He was also leader in prayer and surveiller of the markets. Al-Kalkashandi (*l. c.*, p. 184) says: “at times the Egyptian provinces, the districts of Syria and the lands in the Maghrib were joined together under the jurisdiction of one cadi, and only one diploma was given him.”

² Though this was clearly within the rights of a cadi.

³ According to al-Musabbihi. In Ṣafar 13 he is reported to have said the prayers over the body of the vizier Ja‘far ibn al-Furāt. Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 321.

⁴ *Khitāt*, vol. i, p. 71.

In Rajab 393 (1003), though al-Husain was confirmed in his office, his cousin 'Abd al-'Azīz was permitted to take testimony and to act as referee. This divided authority occasioned much difficulty for litigants. His continued haughtiness and harshness eventually robbed him of the caliph's confidence, and he was finally removed from office on Ramadān 16, 394 (July 7, 1004). On Muḥarram 6, 394, he was imprisoned by the order of al-Hakīm, and, together with two others, was beheaded at the beginning of 395. The bodies of all three were then burned.

The place of al-Husain was taken by Abū al-Kāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was invested cadi Ramadān the 16, 394.¹ He had already held office under or together with his cousin al-Husain. It is expressly stated that he combined in his person all the offices of cadi, even that of hearing complaints.² He seems to

¹ Born Rabī' 1, 354 (=March 7, 965) or 355. The authorities disagree.

² **النظر في المظالم**. This office seems to have been in some manner similar to our court of appeal. Cases were also brought before the official holder of the appointment which could not, for one reason or another, be settled in the ordinary procedure. “مظالم torts, est un terme technique désignant les actes injustes et dommageables que les magistrats ordinaires se trouvent impuissants à réprimer, et dont on demande la réparation en s'adressant directement au Prince”—Léon Ostroog, *El Ahkām es-Soulthāniye*, Paris 1901, p. 209, note. Technically, again, the functions belonged to the vizier, though he might delegate them to a representative. Māwardī (*l. c.*, p. 39, 3) says in this respect: **ويجوز أن** **ينظر في المظالم ويستنوب فيها**. Al-Makrīzī is more precise; according to him the vizier sat as appeal judge in case he was a military man. *Khiṭāt*, vol. i, p. 403, in the chapter headed: **مجلس النظر في المظالم**: **فإن كان وزيره صاحب سيف مجلس المظالم بنفسه وقبلاته قاضي القضاة**. Generally, however, the head cadi was appointed by the caliph to hear such appeals, or an officer was especially designated for the purpose (see, also, *ibid.* vol. ii, p. 207). Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddamāt*, p. 193: **وقد كان الخلفاء من قبل يجعلون للقاضي النظر في المظالم وهي وظيفة متزوجة من سطوة السلطنة ونصفة القضاة وتحتاج إلى علويد وعظيم رعبه لمنع الظالم من الخصمين**. See also, de Sacy, *l. c.*, notes, vol. i, p. 132; ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 346, note 14.

have enjoyed unwonted honors at the hands of al-Hākim, being permitted on two occasions to enter the pulpit with the caliph—an honor, which, as we have seen, had also been accorded to his father. As a judge he was severe and firm. He is especially noted for his learning in the Canon law according to the Imāmī rite. He was appointed to be the head of the *Dar al-'Ibm*, where he collected a large library; he had the care of the mosques and of the pious foundations, (*wakf*), and was administrator for various estates. The marriage of his sons to the daughters of the Kā'id Fadl ibn Sālih was celebrated in the Kaṣr itself; but al-Hākim must in his madness have found some fault with him and he was deposed on Friday, Rajab 16, 398 (March 27, 1008). That he was married to a daughter of Jauhar has already been related. It was perhaps this fact that hastened his fall. On Sha'bān 7, 398, he and al-Husain, son of Jauhar, the general in chief of the army, were ordered by al-Hākim to remain in their houses and not to show themselves in the market-places. This order was rescinded a few days afterwards, and 'Abd al-'Azīz was in office again in Safar 19, 400.¹ But al-Husain and 'Abd al-Azīz evidently did not feel themselves safe, and together with the wife of 'Abd al-'Azīz they fled from Cairo. They were lured back by the crafty prince, Muḥarram 4, 401 (1009),² and the chief executioner, Rašīd al-Hakīkī, with ten Turks was ordered to put them to death. Their heads were then brought to al-Hākim. This occurred in Jumāda 2, 401 (Jan. 31, 1011).

Curiously enough, Ibn Khallikān asserts that with the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz "the office of cadi passed out of the family of al-Nu'mān;" but one more cadi was to come from the family—the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim. Perhaps he is not mentioned by Ibn Khallikān since the exact date of his death is unknown. Yet this would not excuse his distinct statement in regard to the passing of the cadiship.

After the execution of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mālik ibn Sa'd al-Fārikī occupied the position. He remained in office until Rabī' 2, 405 (1011), when the functions were given to Abū al-'Abbās

¹ De Sacy, *Les Druses*, p. CCCXXXII, says in 399.

² Al-Maqrīzī in de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 61. See, also, Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 253, 345. Even the position of **الناظر في المظالم** was again given to him.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abdallāh ibn Abī-l-‘Awwām, who held office until his death in Rabī‘, 418 (1027). Al-Siyūṭī affirms that al-Kāsim ‘was appointed immediately upon the death of Abū-al-‘Awwām ; but Ibn Hajar dates his first appointment from Jumāda I. There may, therefore, have been another interregnum. In spite of the high-sounding titles attached to his name in the diploma, he lasted only a little over a year,¹ being succeeded by the son of Mālik, ‘Abd-al-Hākim ibn Sa‘id. ‘Abd-al-Hākim was in turn deposed in Dhulqādā 427 (1036) ;² and our Kāsim again returned to power, having jurisdiction over both civil and criminal cases, and being at the same time chief preacher. He had as assistant the historian Abu ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Salāma al-Kudā‘ī.³ This second term of al-Kāsim lasted thirteen years, one month, and four days until Muḥarram, 441 (1049) ; but the historians do not speak with admiration of the manner in which he held his office. For short periods even he seems to have been replaced; at one time by Yahyā al-Shihābī, at another by al-Kudā‘ī.⁴ He was followed in 441 by Abū-Muhammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Yāzūrī, who was in power for seven years and was the first to unite in his person the offices of vizier and cadi.⁵ The further history of al-Kāsim is unknown, and with him the glory seems to have departed from the family of al-Nu‘mān.

From the biographical data given in the texts, the following genealogical tree may be constructed :

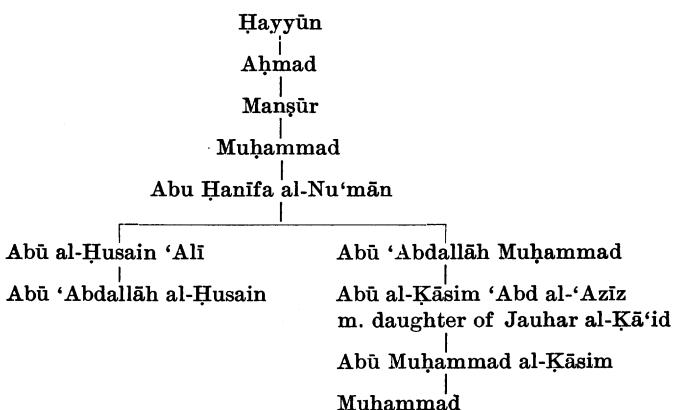
¹ Ibn Hajar says : “one year, two months, and some days.” Paris Ms. 1850 has “three months and a half.”

² Al-Siyūṭī has 329 !

³ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 343.

⁴ Ibn Taghri Birdī (Abu-l-Mahāsin), in his annals for the year 436 mentions the death of the Damascus cadi Muḥsin ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Abbās, who was the *nā‘ib* of al-Kāsim ibn al-Nu‘mān for that city. Dr. Wm. Popper, who is preparing an edition of the latter part of Ibn Taghri Birdī’s work, has been kind enough to give me this information.

⁵ See al-Ghumrī, below. The name occurs quite often in MSS. mis-spelled بَازُورِي .



III. THE ARABIC TEXT OF IBN HAJAR FROM THE PARIS MS.
No. 2149.

النعمان بن محمد بن منصور بن احمد بن حيون fol. 136b.
 الاسماعيلي المغربي يكنى ابا حنيفة تقدم نسبة في ترجمة
 ولده على . وكان قدومة صحبة المعز من المغرب وهو يتولى
 القضاء في عسكر المعز فاقرر المعز ابا الطاهر على حاله وأول ما
 فوض للنعمان الحكم في الضياعة التي كان محمد بن على المادرائي^٥
 حسنهما^٦. ثم باعها في المصادر فاشترتها منه عمر بن الحسن
 العباسي ثم باعها اولاده فاشترتها فرج التجكمي فاثبتت احمد
 بن ابراهيم بن حماد بتحبيسها ثم اتصل بالخصيبى فحكم

^٥ Read المادرائي , and see Yākūt, vol. iv, p. 381.

^٦ Ms. Paris 5893 has the better reading حبسها .

بانها حبس . ثم اتّصل ذلك بابي الطاهر فاحصى ذلك فتظلّم
 فرج التحكّمي إلى المعز فامر النعمان بن محمد ان ينظر في
 أمرها فاتّصل به اشهاد ابى طاهر بجميع ما في الكتاب في كتاب
 التخييس فشهدت عنده الحسين بن كهشم وعبد العزيز بن اعين
 ٥ على اشهاد ابى طاهر بما ذكر فعاجلت النعمان المنية قبل
 اكمال القضية . وكانت وفاته في [?] وكان يسكن مصر ويغدو
 منها إلى القاهرة في كل يوم واستمر أبو الطاهر على حاله ولكن
 اضاف إليه المعز على بن النعمان وكان يحكم بالجامع العتيق أيضًا
 [ثم] بعد موت المعز وتولى العزيز رث امر دار الضرب والجامع لعلّ
 ١٠ بن النعمان بن محمد فحضر الجامع وحكم وحضر أبو الطاهر في
 مجلسه على العادة وحكم وحضر معه جمع كثير من الشهود
 والفقهاء والتحار واعلنوا بالدعاء لابي الطاهر [فاحضرها متولى]
 لشرطة الذين اعلنوا بالدعا لابي الطاهر^٢ فالمجنهم فشفع
 فيهم على بن النعمان فاطلقوا وواصل أبو الطاهر الجلوس
 ١٥ بالجامع . ولم يزل امره مستقيماً إلى أن حصلت له رطوبة
 عطلت شقة نعجز عن الحركة إلا محولاً . فركب العزيز يوماً في
 مستهل صفر سنة ستين وثلاثمائة فتلقاء أبو الطاهر وهو محول

^١ MSS. Paris 5893, 2152.^٢ MSS. Paris 5893, 2152.^٣ Read المعز.

عند باب الضيافة فسألة ان يأذن له في المجلات ولده أبي العلاء بن أبي الطاهر نيابة عنه بسبب ما به من الضعف . فقال المُعَز ما بقى الا ان تقدّمه ثم في ثالث يوم صرف ابا الطاهر وقلد على بن النعمان كما سبق في ترجمته .

5

على بن النعمان الاسماعيلي fol. 85a.

على بن النعمان بن محمد بن منصور بن احمد بن حيون المغربي القيريري الاسماعيلي من المائة الرابعة ولد في رجب سنة ثمان وعشرين وثلاثمائة وقدم مع المُعَز من المغرب فامره بالنظر في الحكم . فكان يحكم هو وابو الطاهر والشهود يشهدون عليهم جميعاً وعندهما والاجتئاع عند ابي الطاهر .¹⁰ فلما مات المُعَز رده امر الجامعين ودار الضرب لعلى بن النعمان فحضر الى الجامع العتيق وحكم ثم واطب ابو الطاهر الحكم في الجامع وعزل جماعة¹ ثم عرض له الفالج ففوض المُعَز² الحكم الى ابي على بن النعمان وذلك لليلتين خلتا من صفر سنة ست وستين وثلاثمائة . فركب الى الجامع الازهر في جمع كثير وعليه خلعة¹⁵ مقلداً سيفاً وبيه يديه خلع في مناديل عدتها سبعة عشر

¹ Reading of Ms. Paris 2152, Ms. Berlin 9819. Ms. Paris 5893 has وعد الجماعة ; Ms. 2149 ; وعدل.

² Read العزيز as Ms. Berlin 9819.

وَقَرِي سَجْلَهُ بِالْجَامِعِ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ عَلَى قَدْمِيهِ فَكَلَّمَا مِنْ ذِكْرِ الْمَعْزَ
 أَوْ أَحَدٍ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ أَوْ مِنْ أَوْمَى بِالسُّجُودِ. ثُمَّ تَوَجَّهَ إِلَى الْجَامِعِ الْعَتِيقِ
 بِمِصْرِ فَوْجَدَ الْخَطِيبَ عَبْدَ السَّمِيعِ يَنْتَظِرُهُ بِالْجَامِعِ وَقَدْ كَانَ
 الْوَقْتُ إِذْ يَخْرُجُ فَصْلِي الْجَمِيعَ وَقَرِي أَخْوَهُ حَمْدَ عَهْدَهُ وَفِيهِ أَنَّهُ
 ٥ وَلِيَ الْقَضَاءَ عَلَى مِصْرَ وَاعْمَالِهَا وَالْخَطَابَةِ وَالْإِمَامَةِ وَالْقِيَامَ فِي
 الْذَّهَبِ وَالْفَضَّةِ وَالْمَوَازِينِ وَالْمَكَابِيلِ. ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ إِلَى دَارَهُ فَرَكِبَ
 إِلَيْهِ جَمَاعَةَ الشَّهُودِ وَالْأَضَاءِ وَالْتَّجَارِ وَرَوْجُوهَ الْبَلَدِ وَلَمْ يَتَأْخُرْ عَنْهُ
 أَحَدٌ وَكَانَ فِي سَجْلَهُ إِذَا دُعِيَ أَحَدُ الْخَصَمِينِ إِلَيْكُ وَدُعِيَ الْآخَرُ إِلَى
 غَيْرِكُ رَدًا جَمِيعًا إِلَيْكُ فَعُرِفَ أَنَّ ذَلِكَ اشْتِرَاءُ إِلَى مَنْعِ أَبِي الطَّاهِرِ
 ١٠ فَامْتَنَعَ مِنْ يَوْمَئِذٍ حِينَ بَلَغَهُ . فَلَمَّا كَانَ الْيَوْمُ الْثَالِثُ مِنْ وَلَائِتِهِ
 رَكِبَ عَلَى بْنِ النَّعْمَانِ إِلَى الْجَامِعِ الْعَتِيقِ وَبَيْنَ يَدِيهِ سَلَةُ حَمَراءِ
 وَجَلَسَ فِي مَجْلِسِ الصَّفِّ عِنْدَ حَلْقَةِ الرِّزَالِ وَرَكِبَ مَعَهُ الشَّهُودَ
 وَالْأَضَاءَ وَالْفَقِهَاءِ وَالْتَّجَارِ فَكَانَ الْجَمْعُ وَافِرًا جَدًّا فَنَظَرَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ
 وَدَعَا بِالْوَكَلَاءِ وَقَرَأَ عَلَيْهِمْ سُورَةَ الْعَصْرِ وَحَضَّهُمْ عَلَى تَقْوَى اللَّهِ .
 ١٥ ثُمَّ طَلَبَ الشَّهُودَ وَسَأَلَ عَنِ الْقَاضِي أَبِي الطَّاهِرِ فَقَالَ لَهُ الْحَسَنُ
 بْنُ كَهْمَشَ وَكَانَ وَجْهُ الشَّهُودِ حِينَئِذٍ هُوَ عَلَى حَالِهِ فَقَالَ يَنْتَظِرُ
 فِي الْحُكْمِ فِي دَارَهُ دُونَ الْجَلوْسِ فِي الْجَامِعِ فَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ أَبَا الطَّاهِرِ
 فَصَرَفَ الْوَكَلَاءِ وَانْقَطَمَ عَنِ الْحُكْمِ وَعَنِ بَعْضِ أَهْلِ الْبَلَدِ بَابِي

الظاهر فتتجدد له توقيعاً بان ينظر في الحكم على حاله وجمع الشهود وقرى عليهم فبلغ ذلك ابا الطاهر فامتنع . وقال ما ان فعل ولا بي طاقة . فقال له الحسين بن كهمش جاز [ي] الله القاضي وسكت عليّ بن النعمان [عن طلب ديوان الحكم فلم يسأل عنه ولا طلبه حسن عشرة وجميل فعل . ولما امتنع ابو الطاهر⁵ انبسطت يد عليّ بن النعمان¹ في الاحكام . واستختلف على اخاه محمدًا والحسين بن خليل الفقيه الشافعى وشرط عليه ان يحكم بمذهب الاسماعيلية لا بمذهب الشافعى وكان يحكم اذا اشتغل محمدًا . واستختلف على اخاه محمدًا على تفليس ودمياط والفرما وغيرها فخرج اليها وقرر فيها نواباً ثم عادوا واتخذ¹⁰ علیّ في دارة سجفاً . ولما سافر العزيز سنة ثمان وستين لحرب لقراططة سافر صحبته واستختلف اخاه محمدًا واسع جماعة ان العزيز[عزل] عليّ بن النعمان وكانت محمدًا اخاه بذلك فتتجزأ توقيع العزيز الى منتوى الشرطة وهو حسن بن القاسم بالكشف عن ذلك . وتقدم اليه بعدم² الحوض في ذلك وتقوية يد محمد بن النعمان .¹⁵ وكانت الشهود يجلسون في الجامع على رسم القضاة قبله في الشتاء في المقصورة وفي الصيف عند الشبات ثمّ وقع الابعاد ان يجلس معه

¹ MSS. Paris 5893, 2152.² MSS. Paris 5893, 2152.

في مجلسه أربعة عن يمينه وعن يساره ويشاهدون ما يقع من
أحكامه وكان الذي يكتب عنه التوقيع يأخذ عليها رسمًا
فانكر ذلك على بن النعمان بعد سنة من ولادته ومنعه. وارتقد
في أيامه رجل واستأذن العزيز وضرب عنقه واختص ابن النعمان
5 بالعزيز كاختصاص أبيه بالمعز. وكان يجالسه ويواكله ويركب
معه ويسايره وكان الوزير يعقوب بن كلس يعارضه وهو يتغافل
عنده وزاد به الامر الى ان كان لا ينفذ حكمًا ولا يعدل شاهدًا
ولا يقلد نائبا الا بعد مطالعة الوزير بذلك. وبطل القاضى
الجلوس بالجامع لمبالغة الوزير في اضعاف يده الى ان قبض على
10 الوزير فعاد على بن النعمان الى حالته. وكان اول من لقب
قاضى القضاء بالديار المصرية لانه كان في سجله ان جميع
الاعمال داخلة في ولادته.

fol. 129a. **محمد بن النعمان بن محمد بن منصور بن احمد**

بن حشوب¹ المغربي القيرواري نزيل [القاهرة] امامي من المائة
الرابعة ولد في ثالث صفر سنة اربعين وثلاثمائة
15 بال المغرب وقدم² القاهرة صحبة والده مع المعز³ وناب عن
أخيه على بن النعمان في اخر امره وولى العزيز استقلالاً

¹ Read حشوب as in Ms. Paris 5893.

² MSS. Paris 5893, 2152.

³ Read المعز.

⁴ Ms. Paris 5893. وولاه.

بعد موت أخيه في يوم الجمعة لسبعين بقين من رجب سنة أربع وسبعين. وخلع عليه وقلد سيفاً ونزل إلى مصر من يومه في قبة على بغل لعلة كانت به. فدخل الجامع فلم يقدر على الجلوس فرجع إلى داره وجلس ولده عبد العزيز وأولاده أخواته وجماعة الشهود حتى قرئ عهده في الجامع بعد صلاة الجمعة⁵ بقضاء على الديار المصرية والاسكندرية والحرمين واجناد الشام. وفروض إليه الصلاة وعيار الفضة والذهب والموازين والمكاييل وذكر في سجله أبواه وأخوه واثني عشر عليهم. ثم أرسل ابن أخيه الحسين بن علي إلى الجامع الحاكم¹ للحكم بين الناس وكاتب خلفاء النواحي. فلما كان يوم الجمعة أول جمادى الأولى سنة خمس وسبعين عقد لابنه عبد العزيز على بنت جوهر القائد في مجلس العزيز. وكان الصداق ثلاثة آلاف دينار والشاهدان محمد بن عبد الله العتقي وعبد الله بن محمد [بن]² رجا. وخلع العزيز على الزوج وانصرف محمد بن النعمان في جمع كثير من الخواص ثم قرر ابنه عبد العزيز في نيابة وصرف ابن أخيه الحسين بن علي.¹⁵ قال المسيحي³ كان محمد بن النعمان خبيراً بالاحكام حسن

¹ Delete; not in MSS. Paris 5892, 2152.

² MSS. Paris 5893, 2152.

³ Read الميسكي.

الاديب^١ والمعرفة ب أيام الناس . قال العنفي^٢ في تاريخه امر المعز
وهو بال المغرب قاض بلاده النعمان بن محمد ان بعمل له
اصطربات فضة وان يجلس مع الصانع بعض ثقاته فاجلس
النعمان ولده محمد . فلما فرغ توجّه به إلى المعز فسألته من
٥ اجلس مع الصانع . قال ولدي محمد [١] . فقال هو قاضي مصر .
قال محمد بن النعمان كان المعز اذا رأى قال لولده وانا صبي هذا
قاضيك قال المسيحي^٣ وعدل محمد بن النعمان في ايامه نحو
من ثلاثين نفساً قال المسيحي^٣ كان محمد بن النعمان خبير
النظر في الأحكام تقدّمت إليه امرأة طالبة زوجتها بحقّها فامتنع
١٠ من دفعه لها فسألت القاضي أن يحبسها فامر بذلك . ثم نظر
إليها فوجدها جميلة وظهر عليها السرور . فلما توجّه إلى
الحبس امر القاضي بحبسها مع زوجها فغضبت فقال لها حبسناه
لحقك ونحبسك لحقّه فلما تحقّقت ذلك افرجت عنه فلما توجّهت قال
القاضي رأيتها فرحت بحبسها فخشيت انها تخلو بنفسها لغيبة^٤ .
قال وكان الوزير ادين كلّس كثير المعارض لبني النعمان في احكامهم
١٥ فاتفق ان الحسن بن الحسين بن علي^٥ بن يحيى الدقاقي زوج

^١ Read **الادب** as Ms. Paris 5893.

^٢ Ms. Paris 5893 has 2152 : **العتقى**.

^٣ Read **المسيحي**.

^٤ Ms. Paris 5893 لغيبة زوجها.

ولده يتيمة تعرف ببنت الديباجي باذن محمد بن النعمان في ذلك . فقام بكر بن احمد المالكي احد الشهود وادعى فساد العقد لكونها غير بالغ . وبالغ في ذلك فقال ابن النعمان ثبت عندي باقرارها انّها بلغت نحملت الى القصر ورفع امرها الى العزيز وكشف عنها فوجدت غير بالغ فقدم الى القاضي بفسح 5 النكاح فاحضر الوزير القاضي والشهود وشهادتهم ¹ وقال يتقدّم مولانا بفسح هذا النكاح وبالوقوف عن قبول شهادة هولاء الشهود . ففعل وكتب بذلك سجلاً بامضاء ذلك وفيه انه ثبت عنده انّها غير بالغ . ثم بالغ الوزير في الانكار على الشهود في التساهيل وكان ذلك في سلخ جمادى الاولى سنة خمس وسبعين 10 وامر بحفظ مال الصبية ثم ابتعاث لها منه ربعاً . ووقع الى محمد بن النعمان ان نصراوياً اسلم ثم ارقد وقد جاوز الثمانين فاستنبيب فابي فانهى امرة الى العزيز فسلمه لواى الشرطة . وارسل الى القاضي ان يرسل اربعة من الشهود ليستتببوه فان قات 15 ضمن له عنه مائة دينار وان اصرّ فليقتل فعرض اليه الاسلام فاتى بقتل . ثم اتى بتغريقه في النيل . ورفع اليه رجل من ولد عقيل بن ابى طالب زوجته ومعها ابنة لها جدّها فتلطّف به

¹ Ms. Paris 5893 + وهـدـهـم .

ابن النعمان ثلم يجد فيه حيلة فانهى امره الى العزيز فامرها
بالملاعنة بينهما وكتب^١ في ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وسبعين الى
الجامع العتيق فاجتمع الشهود ووعظ الزوج فابي الا اللعان
فلاعن بينهما ثم فرق بينهما . ثم استخلف ولده عبد العزيز
الحكم وكان ينظر كل اثنين وخميس وفي اول سنة احدى وثمانين
عده جماعة من الاشراف وفي صفر سنة اثنين وثمانين رتب رجلا
جعفر بالجلوس في الجامع للفتوى على مذهب اهل البيت . فشغب
عليه الفقهاء من اهل الجامع فبلغ ذلك [القاضي]^٢ فقبض على
بعضهم وطُوّف بثلاثة منهم على الجمال . وعلت منزلة القاضي
عبد العزيز وقطع النزول الى الجامع ونظر في الحكم في دارة . ولم يكن
احد يخاطبه الا بسيّدنا . فلما توفي العزيز سكن محمد بن
النعمان في دارة بالقاهرة ورتب ابنه عبد العزيز كل اثنين وخميس
ينظر في الاحكام بمصر . قال ابن ذو لاق^٣ ما شاهدنا لقاض
من القضاة بمصر ما شاهدناه لحمد بن النعمان ولا بلغنا
ذلك عن قاض بالعراق . وكان مع ذلك مستحثناً لما هو فيه من
العلم والصيانة والتحفظ والهيئه واقامة الحق وفيه يقول ابو عبد

الله السمرقندى :

^١ Read وركب as Ms. Paris 5893.

^٢ Ms. Paris 5893.

^٣ Read ذو لاق .

وَحْبَهُ فِي قَضَايَاهُ غَرِيبٌ
 خَطِيرٌ فِي مَفَاخِرَهُ جَلِيلٌ
 كَمَا يَتَأَلَّفُ السَّيْفُ الصَّقِيلُ
 وَيَقْصِي وَالسَّوَادُ لَهُ حَلِيفٌ
 وَيَعْطِي وَالغَمَامُ لَهُ زَمِيلٌ
 إِذَا رَكَبَ الْمَنَابِرَ فَهُوَ قَسٌ
 قَالَ الْمُسِيقِيٌّ^١ وَلَهُ نَظَمٌ كَثِيرٌ
 لَيْسَ بِالْقَوْرَى فَمِنْ أَجْوَدِهِ

لَسْبَعُ وَخَمْسُ مَضْتُ وَاثْنَتِينَ
 أَيَّاً مَشْبَّهُ الْبَدْرِ بَدْرُ السَّمَا
 وَبِيَا كَامِلُ الْحَسْنِ فِي نَعْتَهُ
 شَغَلَتْ فَوَادِي وَاسْهَرَتْ عَيْنِي
 فَهَدَلَ لِي فِي فَيْكِ مِنْ مَطْمَعٍ
 وَالَّا انْصَرَفْتُ بِخَفْفَى حُنَيْنٍ
 قَالَ وَفِي وَلَايَتِهِ رَجْمٌ رَجْلاً خَبَارًا اصَابَ امْرَأَةً عَلَوِيَّةً مِنْ زَنَاهُ. وَكَانَ
 رَجْمُهُ بِسُوقِ الدَّوَابَّ بِقَرْبِ الْجَامِعِ الطَّوْلُوْنِيِّ وَذَلِكَ سَنَةُ اثْنَتِينَ¹⁰
 وَقَسْعَيْنِ. قَالَ وَلِمَا حَصَلَ لَهُ التَّمَكُّنُ الرَّائِدُ وَعَلِتْ رَتْبَتُهُ لِرَمَنَتِهِ
 الْأَمْرَاضُ كَالنَّقَرُسُ وَالْقَوْلَنِجُ وَكَانَ أَكْثَرُ أَيَامِهِ عَلِيَّلًا. وَوَلَدَهُ عَبْدُ
 الْعَزِيزُ يَنْظَرُ فِي الْأَحْكَامِ وَيَسْجُلُ فِي دَارِ الْأَبِيهِ وَغَيْرِهَا وَكَانَ يَرْجُو أَنْ
 يَعُودَهُ فِي كُلِّ خَمِيسٍ مَعَ عَظَمَةَ بَرْجَوَانَ. قَالَ وَكَانَ فِيهِ احْسَانٌ
 لَاقْبَاعَهُ مَعَ حَسْنِ الْخَلْقِ وَالْبَرَّةِ وَالْمَرْكُوبِ وَكَثْرَةِ الطَّيِّبِ¹⁵
 وَالْبَخُورِ إِذَا جَلَسَ فِي مَجْلِسِهِ وَإِذَا رَكَبَ. وَكَانَ إِذَا أُعْطِيَ عَطَا كَثِيرًا
 وَعَجَلَهُ. وَكَادَتْ وَفَاتَهُ وَهُوَ عَلَى الْقَضَايَا فِي لَيْلَةِ الْثَّلَاثَةِ الرَّابِعِ مِنْ

^١ Read المسبيحي

صفر سنة تسعة وثمانين وثلاثمائة. فركب الحاكم فصلٌ عليه في
داره ودفنه تحت قبرتها ثم نقل بعد إلى القرافة. وكانت مدة
ولايته أربع عشرة سنة وستة أشهر وعشرة أيام. ووجد عليه من
اموال اليتامي وغيرهم ستة وثلاثون ألف دينار. فامر الحاكم
برجوان ان يحتاط على موجوده فراسل كاتبه ابا العلاء فهذا
النصراني فاحتاطوا عليه وشرعوا في البيع وفي تغريم الشهود
الذين كانت الودائع تحت ايديهم. فمن احضر ورقة بخط
القاضي ترك. ومن لم يحضر خط القاضي عزم الى ان تحصل
قدر نصف الدين. فدفع للمستحبين بقدر النصف. وتقىدم امر
الحاكم ان لا يوضع بعد ذلك عند احد من الشهود مال يتيم
والاغائب. وافرد موضع برقاق القناديل بوضع فيه المال ويختتم
عليه اربعة من الشهود لا يفتح [الا] بحضور جميعهم فاستمر
الامر على ذلك مدة. وكان محمد بن النعمان سليم لعبد الله
بن احمد بن محمد المدادي احد الشهود مال يتيم واراد
الاشهاد عليه بذلك فامتنع فقال محمد ما كان بالذى يوضع
الاشهاد فافق ان المدادي مات في سنة تسعة وسبعين وعده
ودائع كثيرة فراسله يزيد بن السندي كاتب الحكم قبل ان

¹ Ms. Paris 5893.

يموت حتى أشهد عليه بما عنده فلما مات لم يوجد أكثر ذلك
فيما القاضي دارة بخمسة آلاف دينار فوق بها الودائع.

الحسين بن علي بن النعمان بن محمد بن منصور بن
احمد بن حبيون بهمبلة وبها الحروف بهمبلة مضمونة وآخره نون
المغربي الاسعاعيلي من المائة الرابعة ولد لليلتينين بقيتنا من ٥
ذى الجهة سنة ثلاث وخمسين وثلاثمائة بالمهدية . وقدم مع ابيه
باقاهرة وهو صغير فحفظ كتابا في الفقه ومهر الى ان صار من
ائمة السبعة . واستخلفه عمّه محمد بن النعمان بالجامع في الحكم
ثم صرفة بابنه عبد العزيز [بن] محمد . فلما مات محمد بن
النعمان اقامت مصر بغير قاضي لتسعة عشر يوما [٩] استدعاه ١٠
برجوان باسم الحاكم فولاه القضا وولى المظالم ابن عمّه عبد
العزيز بن محمد بن النعمان وذلك في آخر صفر او أول شهر
ديسمبر الاول سنة تسعة وثمانين وثلاثمائة وحررة المسجّي في الثالث
والعشرين من صفر . قال فقلده سيفا وخلع عليه ثيابا بيضا
مقطوعة ورداء برداء وعمّة بعامة مذهبتين وحمله على بغلة ١٥
وقاد بين يديه بغلتين وحمل معه ثيابا صحيحة كثيرة . وقرى
عهده بولاية القضا بالقاهرة ومصر والاسكندرية والشام

^١ MSS. Paris 5898, 2152.

^٢ MSS. Paris 5898, 2152.

^٣ MS. Paris 2152.

والحرمين والمغرب واعمال ذلك وهو قائم على قدميه . واضيفت اليه
الصلوة والحسبة . فركب الى الجامع ووقف عن قبول جماعة من^١
شهود عمه^٢ وعدّتهم اربعة عشر [نفسا]^٣ والمسبّحى اسمائهم . ثم
قتلهم بعد مدة شهر . واستخلف على الحكم الحسين بن محمد
٥ بن طاهر بمصر وبالقاهرة مالك بن سعيد الفارقى واقام النعمان
اخاه في الناظر في العباد^٤ فاضاف اليه قضا الاسكندرية وعلى
الفروض احمد بن محمد بن العوام . والزرم من ينظر في مال
الايقان بعمل الحسابات^٥ .

فيبينما هو في ثامن صفر سنة احدى وتسعين جالسا في
الجامع بمصر يقرأ عليه الفقه اقيمت الصلاة صلاة العصر فدخل
فيها اذ هاجم عليه مغربي اندلسى فضربه ضربين بمنجل قفاصٍ
في وجهه ورأسه فامسك الرجل فقتل وصلب . وصار من ذلك
اليوم يكرسه عشرون رجلا بالسلاح . وذكر المسبّحى في تأريخه
ذلك في حوادث سنة ثلاثة وتسعين في ثاني الحرم . وقام القاضى
إلى ان انهمل جرحه فركب الى الحاكم فخلع عليه وحمله على
بغلة وقاد بين يديه اخرى . وان الحسين هذا جرح وهو راكع

^١ Ms. ممن .^٢ On margin ; احياء النعمان in Ms. 2152 as a correction in the author's hand .^٣ Ms. Paris 5893 .^٤ Ms. Paris 5893 . المعيار .^٥ Ms. Paris 5893 . الحسبانات .

فِي صَلَاةِ الْعَصْرِ . وَكَانَ إِذَا صَلَّى بِصَفَّ خَلْفَهُ الْحَرْسَ بِالسِّيُوفِ حَتَّى يَفْرَغَ فَيَصْلُّونَ هُمْ حِينَئِذٍ .

قَالَ الْمُسْبَّحِيُّ وَهُوَ أَوَّلُ قاضٍ فَعَلَ مَعَهُ ذَلِكَ . وَكَانَ الْحَاكِمُ قَدْ أَمْرَ أَنْ يَضْعُفَ لِلْخَسِينِ ارْزَاقَ عَمِّهِ وَصَلَاتَهُ وَاقْطَاعَاتَهُ وَشَرْطَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَتَعَرَّضَ مِنْ أَمْوَالِ الرَّعْيَةِ لِلْمَدْرَعَمِ فَمَا فَوْقَهُ . وَخَلَعَ⁵ عَلَيْهِ وَقْلَدَهُ سِيفًا وَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى بَغْلَةٍ وَفَرَّضَ إِلَيْهِ الْحُكْمَ بِجَمِيعِ الْمُمْلَكَةِ وَكَذَلِكَ الْخَطَابَةَ وَالْإِمَامَةَ بِالْمَسَاجِدِ الْجَامِعَةِ وَالنَّظَرِ عَلَيْهَا وَعَلَى غَيْرِهَا مِنَ الْمَسَاجِدِ وَوَلَّهُ مَشَارِفَ دَارِ الْضَّرَبِ وَالدَّعْوَةِ وَقَرْأَةِ الْحَجَالِسِ بِالْعَصْرِ وَكِتَابَتِهَا . وَهُوَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ أُضِيَّفَ إِلَيْهِ الدَّعْوَةُ مِنْ قَضَاةِ الْعَبَيْدِيَّيْنِ . وَكَانَ النَّاسُ يَظْنُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا يَتَوَلَّ¹⁰ الْقَضَا

لِضَعْفِ حَالِهِ وَانِ الْوَلَايَةِ اَنَّمَا هِيَ لِعَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ [ابن]¹ عَمِّهِ لَمَّا كَانَ أَبُوهُ قَدَّمَهُ فِي الْحُكْمِ فِي حِيَاتِهِ وَهُذِبَهُ وَدُرْبَهُ . ثُمَّ رَفِعَ جَمَاعَةً مِنَ النَّاسِ أَنَّ لَهُمْ وَدَائِعَ مُودَّعَةً فِي الْدِيوَانِ الْحَكَمِيِّ فَاحْضَرَ القاضِي أَبْنَ عَمِّهِ عَبْدَ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ النَّعْمَانِ وَكَانَ بْنُ عَمِّهِ أَبَا طَاهِرَ بْنِ الْمَسْنَدِيِّ وَسَأَلَهُمَا عَنِ ذَلِكَ . فَذَكَرَ أَنَّ¹⁵ عَمِّهِ تَصَرَّفَ فِي ذَلِكَ كَلْمَةً عَلَى سَبِيلِ الْقَرْضِ . فَانْكَرَ عَلَيْهِمَا ذَلِكَ وَاشْتَدَّ فِي الْمَطَالِبَةِ وَوَلَى اسْتِرْفَاعَ حَسَابِهِمْ فَهَدَ بْنُ ابْرَاهِيمَ الْدَّصَارَانِيَّ كَاتِبَ بَرْجَوَانَ [فَوَكَلَ بِهِمْ]² . وَفَتَشَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَالْزَّمَ عَبْدَ

¹ Ms. Paris 2152.² Ms. Paris 5893.

العزيز ببيع ما خلفه ابواه . فباع الموجود فتحصل منه سبعة الاف دينار وزيادة . وحصل الكاتب قدرها مرتين . فاستدعي القاضى وهو جالس بالقصص اصحاب الحقوق فوفاهم حقوقهم وقرر فى نقاط القناديل موضعا للودائع الحكيمية واقام فيه خمسة من الشهود يضبطون ما يحضر ويعرف . وهو اول من افرد للمودع الحكيمى 5 مكانا معينا . وكانت الاموال قبل ذلك تودع عند القضاة او امنائهم . وبasher الحسينين بصرامة ومهابة . وهو اول من كتب فى سجله قاضى القضاة وابوه اول من خطب بها من قضاة مصر . وتقىد اليه الحسن المغربي خصومة فرل لسانه بشيء خاطب 10 به القاضى فاغضبه فارسل الى والى الشرطة¹ فضربه بالف درة وثمانى مائة درة بحضور حاجب القاضى وطيف به فمات من يومه واخرجت جنازته فحضرها اكثرا اهل البلد وكرموا قبره والدعا له وعلى من ظلمه . وندم القاضى على ما فعل وفاته الندم .

15 فلما كان فى رجب سنة ثلاثة وتسعين اذن الحاكم لعبد العزيز بن محمد ان يسمع الدعوى والبينة مع استمرار الحسين على وظائفه . فرتب عبد العزيز له شهودا يحضرون مجلسه وشرط عليهم ان لا يحضروا مجلس ابن عمّه فبقى الناس فى

¹ Ms. الشروط .

امر مريجع . فمن رفع قصّة الى الحسينين رفع عزيمه قصّة الى عبد العزيز واذا حضر عبد العزيز الى الجامع تخلو دار الحسينين فكتسر الكلام في ذلك والخوض فيه¹ . فكتب الحكم بخطه سجلاً بانه لم ياذن لغير الحسينين ان يشارك الحسينين فيما فوض اليه وامر بان يمنع من يسجل على غيره في شيء من الاحكام [fol. 40b] وان من دعا احدا من الخصوم وكان قد سبق الى الحسينين ان لا يمكن احدا منه . وقرى هذا السجل على الملا وانشرح خاطر القاضي بذلك . ولم ينزل على جلالته حتى افطرت في مجادلة الحد في التعاظم . والزم الشهود بحضور مجلسه في دارة وبالجامع ومن غاب منهم لزمه جعل حيد يوحد منه . وكان يتتبع قرأة من يسجل عليه² 10 عنده قبل ان يشهد به على نفسه .

وكان مع ذلك كثيرون من الأفضال على اهل العلم والادب ² في الثبوت ولهم عليه جرایات من القممح والشعير مشاهدة غيرها ويصلهم بالملابس وغير ذلك الى ان خرج امر الحكم بصرفة عن الحكم في شهر رمضان سنة اربع وتسعين . فلم يشعر وهو¹⁵ بداره حتى دخل عليه من اعلمها باه ابن عمّه عبد العزيز ولئن القضا . فائكر ذلك الى ان تتحققه فاغلق بابه ولزم بيته واشتغل

¹ Ms. Paris 5893 منه.

² Ms. Paris 5893 for has في الثبوت والبيوت .

خوفه الى ان كان فى السادس من الحرم فامر الحكم فاحضر على حمار نهارا وامر بحبسه الى اول سنة خمس وتسعين. فضربت عنقه هو وابو الطاهر المغازى ومؤذن القصر وحرقت جثة الثلاثة عند باب الفتوح . وكان مما انكره¹ الحكم قصة الرجل الذى ضربه والى الشرطة فمات كما تقدم .

وقد ذكر ابراهيم بن الرقيق فى تاريخ افريقية قصة الحسين هذا مع الحكم فقال ما نصه وقتل الحكم قاضيه حسين بن علي النعمان فاحرقه بالنار . قالوا وكان من اسباب قتله ان الحكم كان قد ملأ عينه ويده وشرط عليه العفة عن اموال الناس . 10 فرفع الى الحكم شخص متظلم رقعة يذكر فيها ان اباه مات وترك له عشرون الف دينار . وانها كانت فى ديوان القاضى حسين وكان ينفق عليه منها مدة معلومة فحضر يطلب من ماله شيئا . فاعلمه القاضى ان الذى له نفد . فاستدعي الحكم بالقاضى فيرفع اليه الرقعة فاجابه بما قال الرجل وان الذى خلفه ابواه استوفاه فى نفقته . فامر الحكم باحضار ديوان القاضى فى الحال . فاحضر ففتosh فيه عن مال الرجل فظهر انه انما وصل الى القليل منه . ووجد اكثرا باقى . فعده على القاضى ما رتبه واجراه عليه واكملاه ايامه وما شرط عليه من عدم

¹ Ms. Paris 5893

انكر

التعوّض^١ لاموال الرعيبة. فجذع^٢ وهاله وقال العفو واتوب. وانصرف بالرجل فدفع اليه ما له وشهاد عليه. ففقد الحاكم عليه ذلك فامر به فحبس. ثم اخرج بعد ذلك على حمار ذهابا والناس ينظرون الى ان ساروا به الى المنظرة فضربت عنقه واحرقته جثته. وكانت مدة ولاليته القضا خمس سنين وسبعة اشهر واحد^٥ عشر يوما. قال المسبكي لاعن بين رجل سكري وامرأة في الجامع العتيق ولم يسبق لذلك يعني في دولة العبيدين. قال واقطع الحاكم القاضي المذكور دارا بالقرب من الخليج الحاكمي فكان في ايام النيل يركب في [blank]^٣ الى هذه الدار ويسايره الشهود على دوابهم في البر. ثم يركب منها الى القصر ثم يعود 10 اليها ثم يرجع الى سكنه بالدار الحمراء.

عبد العزيز بن محمد بن النعمان بن محمد بن المنصور بن احمد بن حيون المغربي القيرروادي اسماعيلي fol. 73a. من المائة الرابعة ولد في اول ربىع الاول سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثمائة. وكانت ولاليته القضا في يوم الخميس السادس عشر من 15 رمضان سنة اربع وتسعين وثلاثمائة واضيف اليه النظر في المظالم وخلعت عليه الخلع على العادة وحمل على بغلة وقيدت

^١ Ms. Paris 5893.

فبحجز التعوّض.

^٢ Ms. Paris 5893.

^٣ عازمي.

بین یدیه ثنتان و حمل بین یدیه سفط ثیاب ودخل الى الجامع
فحضر في موكب حفل وقرى تقليده على المنبر . وكان اول
احکامه انه اوقف لجميع الشهود الذين قبلهم عمه الحسين ما
عداشرف بن محمد المقرى فاذ استكتبه في التوقيع والقصص .
وكتب له في الاسجال عليه قاضي القضاة عبد العزيز قاضي عبد
الله ولية منصور ابى على الامام الحاكم امير المؤمنين صلوات
الله عليه وعلى ابائه الطاهرين على القاهرة الموريتانية ومصر
والاسكندرية والخرميين واجناد الشام والرحبة والرقعة والمغرب
واعمالها وما فتحه الله وما يسر فتحه لامير المؤمنين [من
بلدان المشرق والمغرب¹.]

² واستخلف عبد العزيز في الحكم مالك ابن سعيد الفارقى
وابن ابى العوام في العرض ولازم الشهود الذين لم يقبلهم
بابه . فراسل اليهم انه قد كثر نظار حكم على وبشفعكم في
قبول الشهادة . فيلزم كل واحد منكم شغله فمن احتجت
إلى شهادته منكم اتعدت اليه فانصرفوا عنه .

¹ Ms. Paris 5893, 2152. At this point there follows, in the Paris Ms. 2149, a portion of Ibn Ḥajar's biography of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Umar al-Bulkīnī, † 824 A.H., which has been accidentally misplaced.

² The following up to p. 260, line 13, is taken from Ms. Paris 5893.

فلما كان في السابع عشر من ذي القعدة طلبهم واستخلفهم آنهم ما كانوا سعوا في طلب الشهادة عند عمه ولا رشده ولا عدوا له خلفوا على ذلك فقبلهم. واصعد الحكم عبد العزيز معه^١ على المنبر في الجمع والاعياد على عادة من ققدمه وامتدت يده في الاحكام وعلت منزلته وجلس في الجامع وابتداً في كتاب جده اختلاف اصول المذاهب. وفي ولايته فوض الحكم اليه النظر على دار العلم التي انشأها. وكان الحكم بنهاها واتقنهَا وجعل فيها من كتب العلوم شيئاً كثيراً واباحها للفقهاء وان يجلسوا فيها بحسب اختلاف اعراضهم من نسخ ومطابعة وقراءة بعد ان فرشت وعلقت¹⁰ السotor على ابوابها ورتب فيها الخدام^٢ والفرشة. ويختص عبد العزيز هذا لمجالسته^٣ الحكم ومسايرته فاحتاج القاضي الى الاذن لولده القاسم الاكبر في الحكم بالجامع. وكان يجلس فيه لسماع الاحكام والفصل بين الخصوم وصار الناس يتربدون في امورهم^٤ منه الى ابيه ومن ابيه اليه وامر ولده¹⁵

^١ Above the word ٢, referring to the marginal note ٣. Does this mean “delete!”?

^٢ Ms. Paris 2152. الحدم.

^٣ Ms. Paris 5893. مجالسة.

^٤ Ms. Paris 2152. من امورهم الى ابيه.

الاصغر ان يثبت كتب الناس ويفصل بينهم في مجلس حكم
بمنزلة . وفوض اليه الحاكم ايضا النظر في تركة ابن عمّه
حسين بن علي بن النعمان بعد قتلها . فتسلى جميع ما
وجد له . وكذا فعل في تركة ابي منصور الجوزي^١ وهو من
٥ كبار دولته وقدمه في الصلاة على جماعة من اولياتهم^٢
جرت العادة بانه لا يصلى عليهم الا الخليفة . وامره في يوم
عاشروا ان يمنع النساء والناس من المرور في الشوارع . وكانت
ستتهم انهم في يوم عاشروا يخرجون النساء وغيرهن للنوح
والبكاء على الحسين وينشدون المراثي^٣ في الشوارع وتمدّ
١٠ الغاغة ايديهم الى امتعة الباعة . فرفعوا ذلك الى الحاكم
فامر القاضي بمنعهم من المرور في الشوارع وان يختص النوح
والنشيد بالصحراء . واتفق ان بعض الكتامييين كان عنده
حق فامتنم من ادائه وكان عنده سنة سنة باس وتحرفه فرفع
امره الى القاضي فانفذ اليه رسول فاهاده . فرفع الامر
١٥ للحاكم فامر باحضار الكتامي مسحوبا الى القاضي بمصر .
ثم احضر الى القاهرة ماشيما والزم بالخروج مما عليه . وامره
الحاكم بالنظر في المساجد وبنقد اوقافها وجمع الربع وصرفه

^١ Ms. Paris 5893 . ^٢ Ib. ^٣ الجوزي . اولياته . المرا比 .

في وجوبه ففعل ذلك وبالغ فيه وفرد لذلك شاهدين يضبطانه . وزوج القاضى ولديه بابنتى القائد فضل بن صالح وكان الاملاك بالقصر على صدف اربعة الاف دينار انعم الحاكم بها من بيت المال . فخلع عليهما^١ ثوبان مصلات وستة عشر قطعة من الثياب الملفوفة وحملها على بغلتين^٥ مسروجتين وقيّد بين يديهما^٢ مثل ذلك . ويصلب القاضى في احكامه وارتفاعت كلامته ويفرز على^٣ جميع اهل الدولة . وتقدم الى جميع الشهود ان من يخلو عن البكرة الى حضور المجلس كل اثنين وخميس الرم بمغرم ثقيل . وسألة خليفته في الحكم مالك بن سعيد ان يستخلف الخليل بن الحسن^{١٠} بن الخليل عنه اذ اطريقه امر يمنعه^٤ من الركوب او التوجّه الى مجلس الحكم . فاذن له ولم يعهد ذلك لغيره ان النائب يستنيب عنه في المدينة .^٥ وذكر المسبيحي في تأريخه في حادث سنة سبع وتسعين وثلاثمائة ما حاصله ان على ابن^٦ سليمان المنجم وكان من خواص قائد القواد الحسينين^٧

^١ Ms. Paris 2152 ; فخلع عليهما مصلات 5893.

^٢ Ms. Paris 5893 . يديها^٣ Ms. Paris 2152 . في .

^٤ Ms. Paris 5893 منعه .

^٥ From here on the text is from Ms. Paris 2149, compared with 5893 and 2152.

^٦ اسماعيل ابن المنجم . The reading of 5893 and 2152; Ms. 2149 has

^٧ Ms. 2149 . بن حسين

ابن جوهر اخبره ان القاضى زار الحسين بن جوهر القائد
في دارة^١ [ف] يوم أحد من صيام النصارى وكان عنده ابو
الحسن الرسى والمنجّم^٢ ومن يخدمهم فدخل الغلام فقال
ابو يعقوب بن قسطناس الطبيب بالباب فادن له فدخل وهم
٥ على المائدة فاظهر السرور به واحضر له عدّة الوان ثم
رفعت المائدة وقدم الشراب وما يلائمه من الفاكهة والمشروم^٣
فأقبلوا على عملهم الى ان سكروا . فاما القاضى فانصرف
ونام القائد والرسى واستمر ابو يعقوب الطبيب بالطارمة التي
كان بناها في ذلك المكان وهى تطل على نهر كبير يشرب
١٠ ويطرب الى ان غلب عليه السكر . فخرج وطلب بغلته
فقدمت له بغلة الرسى فامتنع من ركوبها فسألة الخدم ان
يعود الى مكانه الى ان تخضر بغلته فرجع الى المكان الذى
فيه الرسى فنام الى جانبها فقام احد الفراشين فرفع الستارة
يتتفقد هما . فرأى الرسى فلم ير ابا يعقوب فدخل وقطبه
١٥ فلمح طرف ثوبه في الماء فاستدعى فراسا يعرف السباحة
فنزل الى النهر فوجده قد التفت ثيابه على وجهه فغطس
في الماء . فاعلم الخدم القائد فاستدعى القاضى وابنه^٤ الرسى

^١ Ib. > ^٢ MSS. 2149, 5893 . ^٣ والمسبّحى . ^٤ Ibid. وابنه .

وشق عليهم ذلك لعلهم يمنزلته من الحاكم. فسألوني ان اعلم الحاكم بذلك فدخلت اليه فذكرت له ان ابا يعقوب قام من الليل وهو دهش فسقط في النهر فالى ان يصل إليه الفرش وجده قد التفت في ثيابه فغطس فشق عليه واظهر الاسف وبحث عن الامر فعرفوه بصورة الحال فهز راسه.⁵ اذا بالقائد والقاضي والرسى قد وصلوا الى القصر مشاة بعماهم لطاف فاستدعاهم فحلقوها واكتدوا له الايمان ان¹ كان لهم في شأنه شيء واستشهدوا القائد والقاضي بالرسى فشهد لهما بالبراءة من ذلك فامر بتكتفيه ودفنه. وكان ذلك في اواخر سنة سبع وتسعين.

10

فلما كان في يوم الخميس النصف من شهر رجب سنة ثمان وتسعين شاع بين الناس ان عبد العزيز القاضي عزل وقرر خليفة مالك بن سعيد فارتفع النهار ولم ينزل الى مجلس الحكم الى قرب² الظهر. ثم نزل وحكم وصلى للناس الظهر الى ان انصرف بمفرده من غير حاجب ولا ركابي¹⁵ حتى دخل دارة. فلما كان اخر النهار طاف جماعة على³ جميع اولياء الدولة بان⁴ اجتمعوا بالقصر بكرة فحضروا

ان⁴ . في¹ Ibid . قریب² . بان³ . Ms. Paris 2152 .

فحضر مالك بن سعيد فقلد جميع ما كان بيد^١ عبد العزيز وكانت مدة ولادته ثلاثة سنين وتسعة أشهر وثمانية وعشرين يوماً.

قال المسجّي عزّل عبد العزيز في أيام نظرة في المظالم ٥ ثلاثة عشر نفساً وفي أيام قضائه زفرين واستمرّ عبد العزيز بعد عزله يتربّد إلى القصر خالياً^٢ يتربّد القتل إلى أن كان الحادي عشر من جمادى الآخرة سنة تسع وتسعين ركب القائد حسين بن جوهر والقاضى على عادتهما فسلماً وانصرفا فارسل اليهما فحضر عبد العزيز أولاً فاعتقل ١٠ ورجع خادمه ببغنته واحتفى القائد ولده فكسر بابه وحرّض الحاكم على تحصيله فتعذر^٣ عليه فامر باطلاق عبد العزيز فرجع إلى منزلة وقد اقاموا عليه العزاء فسكنتهم وكان الباعة قد اغلقوا حواناتهم فامرهم بفتحها. ثمّ بعد ثلاثة أيام حضر القائد بالامان خلع عليه وعلى عبد العزيز خلعاً ١٥ سنين وحملت قدامهما ثياب كثيرة وحملوا على فرسين وقيدت بين أيديهما عدّة خيول وأعاد الحاكم النظر في المظالم إلى القاضى عبد العزيز وقرئ سجله وخلع عليه خلعاً مقطوعة

^١ Ms. Paris 5893 . بيد ^٢ Ibid . خائفاً .

^٣ Ms. Paris 2149 . فتعذر .

وطيلسان^١ وحمل على بغلة وبين يديه اخرى وحمل بين يديه سقط ثياب فاستمر في قاسع عشر صفر سنة اربع مائة. ثم قبض على اقطاعه وضرب على باب داره لوح باسم الديوان . وفي اواخر رمضان اعرس ولدى القاضي بابنتي القائد التي تقدم عقدهما عليها .

فلما كان اخر المحرم سنة احدى واربع مائة استشعر القاضي والقائد من المحاكم الغدر منهمما . فلما كان في التاسع من صفر هرب القاضي وقاده القواد حسين بن جوهر واتبعهما وحبتهم جماعة ومعهما من الاموال شيء كثير وتوجهوا على طريق دجوة . فلما بلغ الحاكم ذلك ختم^{١٥} على دورهما . وامر مالك بن سعيد الفارقي بالركوب الى دار القاضي وحسين وضبط ما فيها وحبلاه فلم يزل القاضي والقائد مستتررين الى السادس من المحرم سنة احدى واربع مائة ظهرا وكتب لهما الامان من الحاكم وخلع عليهما فلazما الخدمة الى ان كان يوم الجمعة ثانى عشر جمادى^{١٥} الاخرة منها حضرا الخدمة وانصرفوا . فارسل اليهما في الحال فرجعا فقتل كلا منهما جماعة من الاتراك في الدهليز وختم

^١ . وطيلسانا ?

فِي الْحَالِ عَلَى دُورِهِمَا وَذَهَبِ دُمَهِمَا^١ هَدْرَا وَاحِيطُ عَلَى دُورِهِمَا
فِي الْوَقْتِ وَقَبْضُ عَلَى كَثِيرٍ مِنْ اتَّبَاعِهِمَا وَصُودَرُوا.

وَكَانَ عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزَ عَالَمًا بِالْفَقْهِ عَلَى مَذْهَبِ الْإِمامَيَّةِ كَالـ
بَيْتِهِ وَلَا سِيَّما جَدَّهُ وَقَدْ نَسَبَ إِلَيْهِ الشَّيْخُ عَمَادُ الدِّينِ
^٥ ابْنُ^٢ كَثِيرٍ الْكِتَابُ الْمُسَمَّى الْبَلَاغُ الْأَكْبَرُ وَالنَّامُوسُ^٣ الْأَعْظَمُ
فِي أَصْوَلِ الدِّينِ وَوَهْمُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَأَنَّمَا هُوَ تَصْنِيفُ أَبِيهِ عَلَى
وَالدَّهَ^٤ النَّعْمَانَ. قَالَ ابْنُ كَثِيرٍ وَقَدْ رَدَ عَلَى هَذَا الْكِتَابِ
الْقَاضِي أَبُو بَكْرِ الْبَاقِلَانِيُّ. قَالَ ابْنُ كَثِيرٍ وَفِيهِ مِنَ الْكُفْرِ مَا لَا
يَصْلُ أَبْلِيسُ مِثْلَهُ كَذَا قَالَ.

10 قاسم بن عبد العزيز بن محمد بن النعمان المغربي الاصد
امامي من المائة الخامسة يكنى ابا محمد ولئي بعد ابن ابي
العوام في يوم الاحد رابع جمادى الاولى سنة ثمانى عشرة وقرى
سجله بالقصر وبالجامع بمصر ولقب قاضى القضاة ثقة الدولة
امين الائمة شرف الاحكام وجلال الاسلام فباشرها الى
ان عزل في [يوم الاحد الخامس والعشرين من]^٥ رجب
سنة تسعة عشرة وكانت مدة سنة وشهرين واياماً وهذه

^١ دُمَهِمَا.

^٢ Ms. Paris 5893 >.

^٣ والقاموس Ibid.

^٤ Ibid.

^٥ Ms. Paris 5893, 2152.

الولاية الاولى . واستقرّ عوضه عبد الحاكم بن سعيد بن مالك الفارقى . ثم اعید قاسم فی السادس من ذی القعدة سنة سبع وعشرين فنظر فی الاحکام والمظالم والدعوة واستخلف فی هذه الولاية القضاۓ فناب عنه فی هذه الولاية الثانية . ولم يكن قاسم محمود السيبة لكنه طالت مدة الى ان صرف ⁵ فی المحرّم سنة احد واربعين واربعمائة وكانت ولایته الثانية ثلاثة عشرة سنة وشهرًا واربعة ايام وقد تقدّم ذكر الابيات التي هاجى بها هو وابن عبد الحاكم الفارقى . (ابو القسم) بن محمد بن النعمان هو ابن عبد العزیز المذكور قبله .

V. THE ARABIC TEXT OF AHMAD IBN SA'D AL-GHUMRĪ FROM
THE PARIS Ms. No. 1850, fol. 201b.

10

قضاة الدولة العبيدية .

في حكمه دخلت بنو عبيد	لمصر بالقضاء كل زميد
عام ثمان بعد خمسين سنة	من بعد ثلاثة مائة معينة
وابطلوا قضاتها السنّية	وحكموا قضاتها الشيعيّة
وكان قاضي واحد بمصر	يدعونه قاضي القضاة المصري
مجتهدا او مالكي او حنفي	او شافعي في حكمه لم يحف ¹⁵
جعلوا بمصر اربعا من القضاة	اولها فالمالكي في قضاة
ثاني نصيري ثالث امامي	ورابع اسماعيلي للاحکام

اول من جلس في مصر القضاة اربعة كل دعى قاضي القضاة
 ودولة القضاة من شيعتهم سبعون مذهب الى دولتهم
 منهم على ولد النعمان اول قضاة مصر داني
 وخمسة الاشهر في المروي ثمانى السنين للشيعي
 وثلاثي العلم بمصر ذو سعة ٥ محمد احوة اعوام اربعة
 وكان دا مذهب اسماعيلي خالف السنة والتاويد
 وابن اخي الحسين هو ابن لعلى خمسة اعوام ونصفا ابتدى
 بالضرب والتجريح في مصر قتل وجسمه حرق بنار تشتعل
 وكان دا اول قاضي قتلا بمصر والجسم لنار يصلى
 تولى ابو القاسم هو عبد العزيز اربعة ايام وشهر الاعزيز ١٠^١
 خوفا ومنها صار دمه من بلاجس اول قاض بالسيوف قد حرس
 مكان للمودع فيه اقعدا واول القضاة في مصر افردا
 سبع سنين دون سدس قد بقى ومالك بن سعيد لهو الفارقى
 سببا لاصحاب النبي المجتبى ذا امرة الحكم قال اكتبا
 والسوق والخانات والمجامع ١٥ محمد في سائر الجماع
 ولعنة الله لمن يبغضهم فقام قد كتب الترثي عنهم
 وضربه وعنقه فورا ضرب اذا بلغ الحكم ذا له صلب
 على القضاة لأنه صاحبه وقتل معه حمراء نائبه

ولی احمد ابن محمد العوام تلث عشر عام فيه سامي
 تنقص منها اربعون يوما ولم يخفوا ان عزلوه لوما
 وابن عبد العزيز قاسم ثلاثة اشهر ونصفا حاكما
 وابن سعيد الفارقى عبد الحكم تسعة اعوام وربعا وانقص
 عاد له قاسم تم عاما ⁵ وبعدة من القضاة قاما
 ونجل يحيى واسمه يحييا الشهابي عشرة اعوام وسدسا للمهاب
 وزيد في القابه قاضي القضاة كذا امير الامراء داعي الدعاة
 والامراء يسمعون قوله بل شرف الحكم ثقة الدولة
 محمد ابن سلامة القضاعي اقام عامه بلا نزع
 عاد له قاسم وهي الثالث اقام عاما ذاهبا بالباعنة ¹⁰
 وكان ليس ضابطا احکامه خلع وبالسيف فغلقوا هامة
 محمد اليزرری وهو ابو الحسن قاضي ووزیر سبعة اعوام حسن
 اول قاضي قد ولی الوزارة مع القضاة بمصر للإشارة
 اول قاضي جمعا اليه بها وبالقضاء اخلعوا عليه
 واؤل القضاة والوزر اقتل بمصر في دمه فصار منجدل ¹⁵

III. THE TEXT OF IBN HAJAR IN TRANSLATION.

[p. 238] Al-Nu'mān ibn Muhammad ibn Mansūr ibn Ahmad ibn Ḥayyūn¹ al-Ismā'ilī al-Maghribī, called Abū Ḥanīfa. His genealogy has been given in the account of his son 'Alī. He came to Egypt in company with Al-Mu'izz from the Maghrib. He acted as cadi in the army of al-Mu'izz;² but the latter allowed Abū Tāhir to remain in his position. The first appointment given to al-Nu'mān was to pronounce judgment in the case of the domain which Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Mādharā'ī had made a wakf. This he had sold to pay a debt, and 'Umar ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Abbāsī had bought it. The sons of this one then sold it to Faraj al-Hakamī. Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hammād asserted that it was wakf. The matter came before al-Khaṣībī, who adjudged the property to be a wakf, [p. 239, 1.] This judgment was then brought to Abū Tāhir, who ratified it; but Faraj al-Hakamī³ appealed (from the judgment) to al-Mu'izz, who commanded al-Nu'mān ibn Muhammad to look into the matter. Al-Nu'mān caused the testimony that had been given to Abū Tāhir to be laid before him according to the contents of the book, i. e. the book containing the wakfs. Al-Ḥusain ibn Kahmash and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn A'yan testified to the statements made before Abū Tāhir and mentioned above. Death, however, overtook al-Nu'mān before the case could be finished. He died on the . . . ⁴. He lived in Miṣr, but went every morning from there to al-Kāhira.

Abū Tāhir remained in his position; but al-Mu'izz gave him as assistant 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, who rendered judgment in the Jāmi' al-'Atīk⁵ also after the death of al-Mu'izz. Al-'Azīz gave 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Muhammad jurisdiction over the mint

¹ Not Ḥayyān, as Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 187, has.

² It was customary for the cadi to accompany an army in order to decide any case that might arise; see, e. g., al-Maḳrizī in Blochet, *Rev. de l'Or. Latin*, vol. ix, p. 188.

³ The MSS. have **الحاكمي**; I have ventured to read **الحكمي**; al-Dhabī, *Al-Tanbīh*, p. 188.

⁴ MSS. 2149 and 5893 have here a sign that looks like the Arabic numeral ١٣; but it may merely indicate a blank in the original. Ms. 2152 has, in fact, such a blank space. Ibn Khallikān says "the first of Rajab."

⁵ I. e., the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī, the oldest one in Fustat.

and the mosque.¹ Thereupon he came to the mosque and decided cases. Abū Tāhir was present in his own majlis and gave judgment there as was his custom. Many notaries, lawyers and merchants were there also who brought their cases before Abū Tāhir. These were conducted to the chief of police, who imprisoned them. ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān interceded for them and they were allowed to go free. Abū Tāhir continued the custom of sitting in the mosque; his health was good until he took cold and his side was lamed; he became also too weak to move around unless carried. One day at the beginning of Ṣafar 366 al-‘Azīz was out riding, and Abū Tāhir, having been carried [p. 240, 1] near to the Bāb al-Diyāfa, met him. Abū Tāhir asked al-‘Azīz to give his own son Abū al-‘Alā al-Tāhir permission to act as his substitute, on account of his own weakness. But al-Mu‘izz² answered: “There is nothing left but to dismiss him.” Three days afterwards he deposed Abū Tāhir and appointed ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān, as is related in the history of that man.

‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān, ibn Muḥammad ibn Mansūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Maghribī al-Kairuānī al-Ismā‘ilī, of the 4th century, was born in Rajab 328, and came with al-Mu‘izz from al-Maghrib, and was ordered by him to preside as judge. He and Abū Tāhir acted in that capacity, the witnesses testifying before both; but the confrontation of the witnesses took place before Abū Tāhir.³ When al-Mu‘izz died, the jurisdiction over the mint and over the two mosques was given to ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān. He came to the Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīk, and held judgment there. But Abū Tāhir continued to hold court in the Jāmi‘ and he discharged some men.⁴ However, he became partially lamed, and

¹ This ought probably to be “the two mosques”—as was the case with his son ‘Alī, and as Ibn Khallikān says.

² All the texts have “al-Mu‘izz.” It must be “al-‘Azīz.” De Slane translates “to make cat’s meat of.” See his note to Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 573.

³ I imagine that this is the meaning of the phrase *عند هما والاجتماع* *عند أبي الطاهر*.

⁴ This might be the translation of the reading in Ms. 2149. Another possibility is the reading *عدل الجماعة*, “and to arbitrate [in] the assembly.”

al-Mu'izz turned over the (whole) office to Abū' ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān, two days before the end of Ṣafar 366. Abū' ‘Alī then rode together with a large multitude to the Jāmi‘ al-Azhar, being clothed with the robe of office.² He was invested with the sword, and before him were placed robes in covers to the number of seventeen.³ [p. 241, 1] His patent was read in the jāmi‘ while he stood upright. Whenever the name of al-Mu'izz was mentioned, or the name of one of his family, he gave a sign that all should bow low.⁴ Then he went to the Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīk in Mīṣr and found the preacher, ‘Abd al-Samīḥ, awaiting him in the jāmi‘. The time had already come for him to go out. He then read the Friday prayers, and his brother Muḥammad published his diploma. In this, it was stated that he was appointed cadi over Egypt and its dependencies, preacher, Imām, inspector of gold and silver, of weights and measures. Whereon he returned to his house, and there came to him a multitude of notaries, claimants, merchants, and the chief men of the land. No one kept away from him. In his patent it was said : “When one of the parties to a suit brings a case before thee and the

¹ So the MSS.; delete.

² The khil'a of the cadi was made of wool, without any border; generally of white, the inside being of green (Quatremère, *l. c.*, vol. ii, part 2, note 73). Al-Jauhar, when he came to Egypt, ordered the preachers to wear white, evidently an anti-‘Abbāsid practice. See Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 344; JA. 1836, 3, p. 51, Abū-l-Mahāsin, ii, 408. The Alid colour was in reality green; but the Carmathians, also, adopted white. See de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahreïn*, Leiden, 1886, p. 179. These garments were part of the insignia of office, and are even called

خُلْعَةٌ *Xlūqa*, *Dozy, Dictionnaire . . . des noms des vêtements*, p. 14. They

were probably kept in the خزانة الكسوف, which was a separate department in the caliph's palace. See al-Kalkashandī, *l. c.*, p. 175. Abū Yūsuf al-Anṣārī (see p. 230, note 4) is said by Ibn Khallikān to have been the first to give a distinctive dress to the learned (Ibn Khallikān, vol. iv, p. 273).

³ These numerous robes had probably no further significance; they were nothing more than presents.

⁴ The text has ارمي و ما = *Wāma = īrmī* “indicavit aliquem.” See Dozy, vol. ii, p. 844; de Goeje in the glossary to al-Tabarī, p. DXLVIII. Al-Ḥākim ordered the people to stand up at the mention of his name. Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Mīṣr*, p. 53.

other party brings it before some one else, do thou cause the two to come to thee." He knew that this had reference to his withholding cases from Abū Tāhir. From that day he did so withhold cases from Abū Tāhir.

Upon the third day after his appointment 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān rode to the Jāmi' al-'Atīk, with a red basket before him.¹ He took his station where the people were sitting in rows near the Hal-kat al-Zawāl.² There came to him the notaries, the officials, the lawyers and merchants—a very great multitude. He acted as judge for the people, addressed the agents, and read to them the Sura "al-'Asr"³ impressing upon them the fear of God. He then asked for the notaries and for the cadi, Abū Tāhir. Al-Husain ibn Kahmash, the chief notary at that time, said : "He is still in office." Ali replied, "Let him give judgments in his own house and not sit in the mosque." Abū Tāhir heard of this; he discharged the lawyers and he was practically deprived of his functions. Some people, however, interested themselves in Abū Tāhir, [p. 242, 1] and procured an edict to the effect that he might still act as judge. The notaries were collected and the edict read to them. This intended action coming to the ears of Abū Tāhir, he forbad it, saying: "What can I do ? All my strength is gone." Al Husain ibn Kahmash answered him: "May God recompense the cadi." 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān desisted from demanding the diwān al-hikm; and did not ask or demand it further—[thus showing] his good manners and his kind actions. When Abū Tāhir desisted, 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān had a free hand in his jurisdiction.

¹ I do not know to what this refers. Al-Shirāzī speaks of a قِمَطْرٌ (*káμπτρα*) being placed in front of the cadi, while he is holding court (*al-Tanbīh*, p. 315, 10 ; cf. 321, 5, 8). Does the text here refer to this?

² مجلس الصف عند حلقة الـ. I am afraid that there are some technical terms here which I do not understand. حلقة may mean "the encéinte" of a building or a gathering of students around a professor who is teaching them, or even the hall where such teaching is given (see Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, part 2, p. 197). ئـالـ may mean "the afternoon." "And he took his seat in the Majlis al-Saff at the afternoon assembly."

³ Sura 108.

'Alī then appointed his brother Muḥammad and al-Hasan ibn Khalīl the Shāfi'iite jurist; the latter with the special provision that he was to deliver judgments according to the Ismā'īlī rite, not according to the Shāfi'iite. This latter was accustomed to sit in judgment when Muḥammad was otherwise engaged; for 'Alī had placed his brother Muḥammad over Tinnīs, Damietta, Faramā, etc. Muḥammad went out there and appointed deputies; then they returned and 'Alī put up a curtain in his house.¹ Now when al-'Azīz went forth in 368 to make war upon the Carmathians,² 'Alī went along with him, putting his brother Muḥammad in his own place. Many people spread the report that al-'Azīz [had superseded him]. Muḥammad thereupon wrote to his brother about the rumor. 'Alī at once procured an order from al-'Azīz to the chief of police, Hasan ibn al-Kāsim, that he should look into the matter; but Hasan answered allaying his fear,³ and reporting that the position of Muḥammad ibn al-Nū'mān was gaining strength.

Formerly the notaries had been accustomed to sit in the jāmi', according to the prescription of the cadis before him—in winter in the makṣūra⁴ and in summer near to the window; but the

¹ For what purpose this is mentioned here I do not know; the meaning of بَعْدَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ is clear. Perhaps he wished in this way to have more privacy.

² At first, the Carmathians were used by the Fātimids in reducing Syria to Shi'a rule; later, the two became bitter enemies, the Carmathians making common cause with the Abbāsids at Baghdaḍ. See de Goeje, *Mémoire*, etc., pp. 133 seq. On the victory of al-'Azīz over them in 368, see *ibid.*, p. 192.

³ Reading أَخْوَض if بَعْدَ المُحْكَمَ, "advising him not to press the matter."

⁴ The makṣūra was a small space partitioned off by a grille and near to the minbar of the mosque, in which the ruling prince took his place to say his prayers and to hear the khutbah (Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, part i, p. 164; vol. ii, part i, p. 283). The 'Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiya preached from such a makṣūra (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 41). On such a makṣūra in the Azhar, see Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 47. A description of the makṣūra in the mosque of 'Amr in Fostāṭ is given by Ibn Duqmāk

كتاب الانتصار لواسطة عقد الامصار (Cairo, 1809, A.H.), part iv, p. ٤٨, below. Al-Makrīzī, in speaking of the chief cadi's procedure (*al-Khiṭāt*, vol. i, p.

distance induced 'Alī to order that they should sit near to him, [p. 243, 1] two to his right and two to his left, and that they should thus see whatever judgment he gave. It was customary for his scribe to charge for the documents which he signed. But after 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān had been in office for a year he grew to dislike this arrangement and forbade it. During his tenure a man apostatized. With the permission of al-Azīz, 'Alī struck off his head.

Ibn al-Nu'mān was on very friendly terms with al-'Azīz, as his father had been with al-Mu'izz—sitting with him, eating with him, riding out with him, and conversing intimately with him. The vizier, Jacob ibn Killis, opposed him and the cadi tried to ignore the vizier. This went so far that 'Alī could not give any judgment, nor appoint an assessor¹ to the cadi nor a deputy, without the vizier taking a hand in the matter. The cadi did away with the attendance (of litigants) in the mosque, because it enabled the vizier to decrease his power. When the vizier was put under arrest, 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān returned to his former custom.

He was the first to have the title chief cadi over the whole of Egypt, because in his diploma it was stated that all the provinces (of Egypt) were under his jurisdiction.²

Muhammad ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Muhammad ibn Mansūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥashūb³ al-Maghribī al-Kairuānī the Imāmī, of the fourth century, born on the third of Ṣafar 340 [A.H.] in the

403) **وَبَيْنِ يَدِيهِ خَمْسَةُ مِنْ الْحَجَابِ اثْنَانِ بَيْنِ يَدِيهِ وَاثْنَانِ عَلَى بَابِ الْمَقْصُورَةِ**. The place in which the vizier gave audience was divided by a grille into two parts. All who had business with him assembled in the قاعَة; but he sat in the maḳṣūra, which was separated from the rest of the room by a heavy grille. This was, no doubt, done to protect his person from sudden attacks. See Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la typographie du Caire* in the *Mémoires . . . de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, vol. i, p. 54.

¹ On the functions of the عَدْل see Quatremère, *l. c.*, vol. ii, part 8, p. 111; Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 367, note 5, and Dozy, vol. ii, p. 103.

² Ms. Berlin 9819 adds five lines of poetry by him on the authority of al-Musabbiḥī, part of which are given by Ibn Khallikān. It adds also that he died on Rajab 6th, 374 [A. H.]

³ Of course, the proper reading here is حِبْنٌ in place of حِسْبٌ.

Maghrib. He came to al-Kāhira in company of his father with al-Mu'izz. He represented his brother Alī ibn al-Nu'mān towards the end of the latter's incumbency. After the death of his brother, al-'Azīz endowed him with full powers, [p. 244, 1] on a Friday, seven days from the end of Rajab 374. He received investiture and donned the sword. On the same day he went to Miṣr in a palanquin,¹ resting upon a mule because of a sickness from which he was suffering. He entered the mosque, but was unable to sit down; so he returned to his dwelling. However, his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, the children of his brothers, and a large attendance, remained seated in the mosque until, after the usual Friday prayers, the diploma was read out appointing him cadi over the whole of Egypt, Alexandria, the two sacred places, and the provinces² of Syria. He was also clothed with the functions of leading prayer, of assaying gold and silver, and of controlling weights and measures. In his diploma both his father and his brother were mentioned with praise. Then he sent his nephew al-Hasan ibn 'Alī to the jāmi' to sit there as judge and informed the lieutenants of the provinces³ (of this). On Friday, Jumāda 1, 375, he betrothed his son 'Abd al-'Azīz to the daughter of Jauhar, the kā'id, in the majlis of (the caliph) al-'Azīz. The gift to the bride's parents amounted to 3,000 dīnārs. The two witnesses were Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-'Utakī and 'Abdallāh ibn Muhammad ibn Rajā. al-'Azīz made presents to the husband, and Muhammad ibn al-Nu'mān went away with a large and select assembly of his friends. His son 'Abd al-'Azīz was appointed his substitute, his nephew al-Husain ibn 'Alī being removed. Al Musabbihī says that Muhammad ibn al-Nu'mān was a good judge, well educated, [p. 245, 1] and learned in history. Al-'Utakī,⁴ in his history, says while al-Mu'izz was

¹ On the Ḥubba or palanquin, see Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 846, note 10.

² Syria was divided into five provinces (الجناح), to wit: Damascus, Emesa, Kinnasrin, Jordan, Palestine. See Lane, p. 470a.

³ خلفاء النواحي. On the meaning of *Khalīfa* (lieutenant), see the article of de Goeje referred to in Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 755. Al-Shīrāzī (*al-Tanbīh*, p. ۳۱۳) speaks of the Khalifa of a cadi.

⁴ I have adopted the reading of Ms. 5893, and believe that the reference is to Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-'Utakī, author of a *Ta'rīkh al-Maghāribā*; Al-Dhahabi, *Mushtabih*, p. 348. The title alone is mentioned in Ibn al-Faradī, *Kitāb 'Ulamā al-Andalus* (Madrid 1891-2), p. 311.

still in the Maghrib he ordered the cadi of his land, al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad, to make some silver astrolabes, (advising him) to seat some trustworthy person near the workman. Al-Nu'mān placed there his own son Muḥammad. When the work was finished, he gave it to al-Mu'izz, who asked him, "Whom didst thou place by the side of the workman?" He answered, "My son Muḥammad." Upon this the caliph said, "He shall be the cadi of Egypt." Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān related: "When al-Mu'izz saw me—I was then quite a young fellow—he said to his son, 'Here is thy cadi.'" Al-Musabbihī relates: "Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān during his term of office appointed thirty assessors."¹ He says further: "Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān was very subtle in his judgments. A woman once came to him demanding her rights of her husband, which he refused to render to her. She then asked the cadi to put her husband under lock and key, which he ordered to be done. Looking at her, he found her to be comely and in a gleeful mood. When her husband went to the prison, the cadi ordered that she should be locked up with him. At this she was very angry; but the cadi said to her: 'We have locked him up to satisfy your rights; we lock you up to satisfy his.' When the woman found this out she withdrew the complaint, and as she went away the cadi said: 'I saw that she was delighted at his being locked up, and I was afraid that she would have leisure for wrong-doing.'"

He adds: The vizier ibn Killis was much opposed to the sons of al-Nu'mān in regard to their judgments. It happened that al-Hasan ibn al-Husain ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Dakkāk married [p. 246, 1] his son to an orphan known by the name Bint al-Dibājī with the permission of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān.² One of the witnesses, Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-Malikī, arose and charged that the contract was fraudulent, as the girl was not of age. He was persistent in this statement. Ibn al-Nu'mān, however, decided "It has been proven by her own assertion that she is of age." She was taken to the ḫaṣr and the affair was brought to al-'Azīz. She

¹ I suppose that this is the meaning of *Jds* here. It might also signify "he reconciled," i. e., litigants, which was one of the functions of a cadi.

² Wards in chancery could be married only with the permission of a judge. *Al-Shirāzī*, *l. c.*, p. 19.

was examined and found not to be of age. The cadi was therefore asked to annul the marriage ; whereon the vizier cited both cadi and witnesses before him and having sworn them, said : “ May his honor declare this marriage annulled and refuse to receive the testimony of these witnesses.” The cadi did so, putting out a document to this effect. In it the statement was made that it had been proven to him that the girl was not of age. The vizier disapproved of the witnesses as they had been negligent in their conduct. This happened towards the end of Jumāda 1, 375. He (the vizier ?) commanded that the property of the young woman should be placed in chancery, though he deducted from it a quarter for her maintenance.

(On another occasion,) it was reported to Muhammad ibn al-Nu‘mān that a Christian had turned Mohammedan, that he had changed back again, though he had passed his 80th year. He was asked to recant, but refused. His case was reported to al-‘Azīz, who had him turned over to the chief of police. He then ordered the cadi to send him four witnesses who should induce him to repent. Should he so repent he was to have (from al-‘Azīz) 100 dīnārs ; but if he persisted, he was to be killed. He rejected Islām and was killed, his body being cast into the Nile.¹

A man of the Walad ‘Akīl ibn Abī Tālib² once cited before him his wife who had a daughter with her, of whom the man declared he was not the father. Ibn al-Nu‘mān tried to dissuade him, but was unable to do so. [p. 247, 1] The case was brought before al-‘Azīz, who commanded the cadi to have the

¹ On the treatment of apostates from Islām, as recommended by the various schools, see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 215 ; Tornauw, *l. c.*, p. 298. Al-Hākim, of course, handled with great severity those who were enemies of the Alid pretensions. It is related that a Syrian once affirmed that he did not know who ‘Ali was. Muhammad ibn al-Nu‘mān did the bidding of his master, had the man imprisoned and then sent four notaries to question him. After that, he was brought before al-Hākim, who had his head cut off. See de Sacy, *Les Druses*, vol. i, p. CCXCVIII.

² ‘Akīl was a cousin of the prophet. See al-Nawāwī, *كتاب تهذيب الأسماء*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 426 ; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, p. 84 ; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. i, p. 146 ; al-Dhabī, *al-Mushtabīh*, p. 368.

*li'ān*¹ pronounced between them. The cadi cited them in Dhu-l-Ka‘da 378 to the Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīk; the witnesses came and he warned the husband, who, however, insisted upon the *li'ān*.² So the cadi pronounced it between them and thus separated them.

His son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was appointed judge in his place.³ He presided on Mondays and Thursdays. At the beginning of the year 381 he appointed many of the nobles his assessors; and in Safar 382 he appointed a man named Ja‘far in the jāmi‘ to deliver fetwas according to the Meccan rite. But the fakīhs of the jāmi‘ rose up in tumult against him. When the cadi heard of this, he took some of them and sent three of them around (the city) riding upon camels.⁴ As the position of the cadi, Abd al-‘Azīz, became more secure, he ceased altogether to go to the jāmi‘, holding court in his own dwelling place. No one spoke to him without addressing him as “Our lord”.

Now when (the caliph) al-‘Azīz died, Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān remained in his house in al-Kāhira, and had his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz preside at the court in Miṣr every Monday and Thursday. Ibn Zūlāk says: I have never seen of any cadi in Egypt what I have seen of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān, nor have I heard the like of it in regard to any cadi in ‘Irāk. He deserved this reputation, for he was learned, careful and cautious, distinguished in bearing and in conduct. Abu ‘Abdallāh al-Samar-kandi⁵ says of him:

¹ The *li'ān* is the curse which the husband pronounces upon his wife if he suspects her of adultery, but has not sufficient proof to substantiate his charge, or if the fourth of the necessary witnesses is wanting. The formula that he uses is from the Koran, Sura xxiv, 4-9

لعنة الله علیها ان كنت من الکاذبین , upon which the whole ordinance is based. The wife could do the same in regard to her husband. See the section باب اللعان in al-Shīrāzī, *l. c.*, pp. 233 et seq.; al-Sha‘rānī, *Kitāb al-Mīzān*, ii, 111; *Kashf al-Ghumma*, ii, 86. A portion of the passage in Bukhārī’s *Sahīh* is translated by Goldziher in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 235. See, further, Tornauw, *l. c.*, p. 219; Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 92, and Snouck-Hurgronje in ZDMG., vol. liii, p. 163.

² Ibn Khallikān (vol. ii, p. 365) mentions the fact that in Jumāda 1, 880 (July-August 990) Muḥammad appointed the celebrated astronomer ‘Alī ibn Yūnus, the author of so-called *Hākimite Tables*, to act as ‘adl.

³ I suppose that this was considered degrading for a man of position. Only the poor and the Bedouin ride on camels.

⁴ Ibn Kallikān has “Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ja‘farī of Samarcand;” he, also, cites some more verses than ibn Ḥajar.

[p. 248, 1] He was unique in noble qualities, he was illustrious in honorable deeds and excellent.

His brilliancy gleamed and he pressed resolutely on, as gleams a polished sword.

When he gave judgment rectitude was his companion, when he gave awards beneficence was his colleague.¹

When he ascended the pulpit he was a veritable Kuss, when he was present at gatherings he was a true Khalil.²

Al-Musabbiḥī says he wrote many verses, but they do not evidence much power. Among the best are :

O thou who are like the full moon of heaven, when seven and five and two days have passed;³

O thou who art by nature perfect in beauty, thou engrossest my heart and keepest my eye from sleep.

Is there anything that is desirable in thy mouth for me?⁴ If not, I must go off with the sandals of Hunāin.⁵

He adds : During his term of office he had a brutal fellow stoned who had committed adultery with an Alid woman. The man was stoned in the Sūk al-Dawābb near to the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in the year 392. But when increasing power came to him and his station became elevated, sickness took hold of him—gout and festering sores. He was ill most of the time,

¹ Some readings in the MSS. are undoubtedly wrong ; Berlin 9819 omits the lines altogether. In the first line of poetry, Paris 5893 has **فضيلة**,

Ibn Khall. قضاياه for **فضائله**. For **وحيد**, Ibn Khall. has .

In the second line for **اعتراما**, Ibn Khall. has **اعتربما**; in the third, Paris 5893 and Ibn Khall. **والسوداد**, **والسواد** for **السوداد**. I have translated according to the emended text.

² According to de Slane (Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 573/4) the references here are to Kuss bishop of Najrān, and to al-Khalil ibn Ahmad. Kuss was renowned for his eloquence, and the saying went : **أخطب من**

قسى (see Freytag, *Proverbien*, vol. iv, Index); Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. i, p. 102; Sprenger, *El-Mas'udi's . . . "Meadows of Gold,"* i, p. 138. Al-Khalil was the founder of the science of prosody among the Arabs (Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 37).

³ I. e., at the time of its fullness.

⁴ I. e., Can I expect any favour from thee?

⁵ I. e., disappointed. See the explanation in de Slane, *l. c.*, vol. iii, p. 573, note 8.

so that his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz performed his judicial functions, kept the registers in his father’s house and performed his other duties. Barjawān,¹ in spite of his rank, visited him every Thursday. He was very well-mannered, of fine stature, stout, well ridden, well groomed and perfumed, whether sitting in his majlis or riding out. Whenever he had to make a gift he gave much and he gave quickly.

His death happened on Tuesday evening, Safar 4, [p. 249, 1] while he was still in office. Al-Hākim came, said the prayers over him in his house, and had him buried beneath its ḳubba. Afterwards his body was transferred to the cemetery.. He had been in office fourteen years six months and ten days. There was found charged to him property to the amount of 36,000 dīnārs belonging to orphans and others. The governor,² Barjawān, ordered all that was found to be seized, sending his secretary, Abū al-‘Alā Fahd, a Christian, to seize this property, to give orders in regard to its sale, and to exact payment from the notaries in whose charge the property had been. He who could show a written document of the cadi was allowed to remain in possession of what he had ; but he who could not show a written document of the cadi was fined,³ until half of the judgment was paid up. Then a settlement was made with the creditors at the rate of one-half. The judge further ordered that in future no money belonging to orphans or to persons absent should be deposited with any notaries. He then set apart a place in the Zukāk al-Kanādīl⁴ where this money should be deposited. Four notaries were to put a seal upon it, and it was not to be opened except in the presence of all of them. For some time the matter remained in this fashion. Muhammad ibn al-Nu‘mān, however, gave over to one of the notaries, ‘Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Midādī, the money belonging to an orphan, and demanded a notarial document in regard to it. The notary

¹ On the eunuch Barjawān, the regent for the young caliph al-Hākim, see ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 253 ; Stanley Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 124.

² The term حاكم acquired the meaning “governor ;” then it was used for any ruler. See Van Berchem, *l. c.*, pp. 205, 420.

³ Read غرم for عزم in the text.

⁴ Ibn Dukmāk, *l. c.*, p. 13, mentions a رقاق القناديل, but in Fustāt.

refused. Then Muḥammad said: “He is not the one who ought to write out such a document.” It happened that al-Midādī died in the year 379, while holding many such deposits. Yazīd ibn al-Sanadī, the secretary of al-Hākim, had sent to him before his death [p. 250, 1] to get a receipt in regard to the moneys that he held. After his death, the greater part of this money was not found. So the cadi sold his house for 5,000 dīnārs and with this paid the deposits.

Al-Husain ibn ‘Ali ibn al-Nu‘mān ibn Muḥammad ibn Mansūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Hayyūn (with unpointed *ha*, *ya*, silent *wau* with *damma*, and at the end a *nūn*), al-Maghribī al-Ismā‘ilī of the fourth century. He was born in Mahdiyya, two days before the end of Dhu-l-Hijja 353. When quite young he came with his father to al-Kāhira. He learnt a book on law by heart, and was so able as to become one of the imāms of the *Seveners*.¹ His uncle, Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān, appointed him judge in the *jāmi‘*. Then he was deposed in favor of the former’s son, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad. When Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān died, Egypt remained without a cadi for 19 days. Then Barjawān invited him by the order of al-Hākim and made him cadi; placing his cousin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān over cases in appeal. This occurred at the end of Ṣafar or at the beginning of Rabi‘ I, 389. Al-Musabbiḥī gives the corrected date as Ṣafar 23rd. He says: Barjawān clothed him with a sword and with white linen² garments, he put on him a mantle and gave him a turban—both of them gilded.³ He caused him

¹ If this translation is correct, it will be necessary to read أئمّة الشيعة. On these “Seveners” see Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 42. Perhaps the correct reading is الشيعة.

² I have translated in this fashion because of the note in Dozy, *Dictionnaire des Noms des Vêtements*, pp. 180, 1, s. v. مقطوع مقطع pl. مقطوعة. But

مقطوعة may be the same as the more usual مقطوعة, of which de Goeje (Glossary to Tabari, p. CDXXIX) has collected a number of instances in the sense “vestimenta consuta.”

³ Read here مذهبيين. It seems that the turban worn by jurists was thicker than that worn by ordinary Muhammadans. For that reason, a jurist is sometimes called رب العمامات or صاحب عمامات (Dozy, *Vêtements*, p. 307). The طرحة or طيلسان (a veil) was origin-

to ride upon a mule¹ with two mules going before him. Before him were borne many fine garments. The diploma, which created him head cadi in Miṣr, al-Kāhira, Alexandria, Syria, [p. 251, 1] the two sacred places, the West and its provinces was read out while he remained standing. He was appointed leader in prayer² and controller of the markets.³ He rode to the jāmi‘ and he refused to receive a company of notaries who had served his uncle to the number of fourteen. Al-Musabbiḥī gives their names. After a month’s time he received them and installed al-Husain ibn Muḥammad ibn Tāhir as judge in Miṣr and Mālik ibn Sa‘id al-Fārikī in al-Kāhira. He made his brother al-Nu‘mān inspector of weights and measures.⁴ This last one was also made cadi in Alexandria and Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī

ally worn only by the chief cadi, and became thus part of his investiture (*ibid.*, pp. 255, 279). Al-Nuwairi (quoted by Quatremère, *l. c.* vol. i, part i, p. 21) says distinctly in speaking of Mālik Sa‘id, son of Baibars:

خلع

على الاعيان والاكامير بالطراحات وما كان قبل ذلك يخلع
بالطربحة الا على قاضي القضاة . See further citations *ibid.*; and cf. Sprenger, “Eine Skizze der Entwicklungsgesch. des muslimischen Gesetzes,” in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. x, p. 28. Evetts, *Coptic Churches*, ii, p. 120. This peculiar head-dress persisted down through Mameluke times, and is often referred to. See the account of Barbafellā, secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in 1503 in Patton, *Hist. of the Egypt. Revol.* i, p. 62, and Joseph ibn Isaac Sambari’s Hebrew account (end of the seventeenth century) in Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, i, 115.

¹ At a later time a special piebald mule was kept in the royal stables for the use of the chief cadi. See al-Kalkashandī, *l. c.*, p. 184; al-

ويقدم له من الاصطبلات برسم ركوبه على Maṛkīzī, *al-Khiṭāt*: الدوام بغلة شهباء وهو مخصوص بهذا اللون من البغال دون ارباب الدولة .

² صلات pl. صلة may also mean “gifts,” “donations.” See de Goeje in the glossary to his edition of Balādhurī, p. 108. “Controller of gifts and donations?”

³ I. e., محتسب .

⁴ The correct reading is العياد as in Ms. 5893. في العياد in the other MSS. is a mistake for العيار .

'Awwām responsible for the pensions. He who had charge of the property of orphans¹ was also intrusted with the accounts.

On Safar 3, 391, while he was sitting in the jāmi‘ of Misr expounding the law, the evening prayer was offered. It had just been commenced when a Maghribī from Andalusia came and attacked him. With the knife of a basket-maker he gave him two cuts, in the face and on the head. The man was caught, killed and hung up. From that day on al-Husain was guarded by twenty armed men. Al-Masabbihī mentions this matter in his history while discussing the events of Muḥarram 2nd, 393. The cadi waited until his wound was healed; then he went to al-Hākim. He received investiture, was carried upon a mule, while another was led before him.

This al-Husain was wounded while performing a rak‘a [p. 252, 1] during the evening prayer. For this reason the guards were accustomed to take their station back of him with drawn swords until he had finished; then they said their prayers. Al-Masabbihī affirms that he was the first cadi to whom this happened. Al-Hākim gave orders that double the salary, presents and appanages² of his uncle should be given to al-Husain. He made a condition, however, that al-Husain should not touch even a single dirhem of money belonging to the people.³ He put him in office, invested him with the sword, caused him to ride on a mule, giving him the care of justice over his whole kingdom. He made him preacher and imām in the chief mosques;⁴ gave him the care of them and of other mosques; appointed him inspector of the mint, and of preaching, as well as chief reader and chief scribe at the evening levee. He was the first 'Ubaidi cadi to be preacher. On account of his poor health the people imagined that he would not preside at court, and that the

¹ Read الائتمان with Ms. 5893.

² اقطاعات either “apanages” (Quatremère, *l. c.*, ii, p. 200), or “the revenues of his estate” (Dozy, vol. ii, p. 874).

³ I. e. money of orphans and the like, placed for safety in the dīwān of the cadi.

⁴ If the correct reading here is, as I suppose, المساجد الجامعية, the reference must be to the “cathedral mosques” (if such a barbarous term be permitted), where the Friday prayers were said. The older term was *masjid*. In course of time, any mosque was called a *jāmi‘*. See the learned notes of Van Berchem in his *Corpus*, pp. 173, 765.

appointment was really meant for the son of his uncle Muhammad, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, because his father had preceded him as judge and had instructed him during his lifetime. Then a number of people made the complaint that there were deposits belonging to them in the cadi’s dīwān.¹ The cadi cited his cousin Abd Al-‘Azīz ibn Muhammad ibn al-Nu‘mān, and wrote to his uncle Abū Tāhir ibn al-Musnadī in regard to the matter. He was told that his uncle had made free use of all this money, regarding it as a loan. Their reply displeased him, and he made a further investigation, sending Fahd ibn Ibrāhīm the Christian, the secretary of Barjawān, to examine into their accounts. So he took charge and investigated and compelled ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [p. 253, 1] to sell whatsoever his father had left. Then he sold all that he had, realizing from this more than 7,000 dīnārs. The secretary, however, had calculated the liability to be twice this sum. The cadi, sitting in the ḫaṣr, called the creditors and paid them the sums owed.

He then set apart in the Zukāk al-Kanādil a special place for the moneys deposited with the cadi and placed there five notaries to register whatsoever was brought there and attested. He was the first to set aside a separate place for the care of moneys intrusted to the cadi. Previous to this all such property had been intrusted to the cadi in person or to his assessor. Al-Husain attended to all affairs with harshness and severity.² He was the first one to have the title chief cadi in his patent;³ his father being the first of the Egyptian cadis to be addressed by such a title. Al-Hasan al-Maghribī once brought a law case before him; but his tongue slipped while he was addressing the cadi. This angered the cadi, who sent him to the prefect of police and he was punished in the presence of the cadi’s chamberlain with 1800 strokes. He was carried about the city in disgrace and died upon that same day. His bier was brought out, most of the people of the city came to see it, and honored his grave, praying for him but cursing the one that had done him injury. The cadi repented of his deed—but his repentance was too late.

¹ موضع الحكم. Cf. Dozy, vol. ii, p. 792.

² مهابة i. e. he inspired fear among people.

³ Or “in his protocols.”

In Rajab 393 al-Hākim gave ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muhammad permission to try cases and to take testimony, though at the same time he confirmed al-Husain in his positions. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz arranged that notaries should be present at his majlis, making the condition that they should not be present at the majlis of his cousin. In this manner the people were quite uncertain what to do. [p. 254, 1] If one party brought a case before al-Husain, his opponent would bring the case before ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. When ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was present in the jāmi‘, the place of al-Husain was quite deserted, so that the matter was much talked about. Al-Hākim then wrote a diploma in his own hand to the effect that trial cases should be brought only before al-Husain. He ordered that no one should register judicial decrees upon the authority of anyone else; and that if anyone summoned a litigant who had already brought his case before al-Husain, no one else could take charge of it.¹ This diploma was read before the assembly.² At this the cadi’s heart rejoiced. His growing prominence did not cease until he reached the highest point of glory; so that he compelled the notaries to be present at his own house and in the jāmi‘, and whenever one of them absented himself he had him punished.³ It was his custom to have the contents of the documents he was to sign read in his presence before he added his own signature.

In spite of all this (harshness) he was very kind to men of learning. He used to reward them with flour and barley, etc., and would send them garments and other things. This lasted until al-Hākim ordered him to be removed from office in Ramaḍān 394. He knew nothing of this, remaining in his house, until someone came and told him that his cousin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had been made cadi. He refused to believe it until it was substantiated. Thereupon he shut his door and remained in his house. His fear waxed [p. 255, 1] until on Muḥarram 6, al-

¹ For the meaning of لا يمكن أحداً see the instances cited by de Goeje in the glossary to Tabari, p. CDLXXXIX.

² ملأ, de Goeje, *ibid.*, p. CDXC.

³ حمد؟ It is possible that the reading should be حبّة جعل حبّة توحذ منه, i. e., he imposed a small fine.

Hākim gave orders that he should be taken upon an ass in broad daylight and imprisoned; and at the beginning of the year 395 he was beheaded together with Abū Tāhir al-Maghāzili and the muezzin of the kaṣr. The bodies of the three were then burned near to the Bāb al-Futūḥ. One of the things that led al-Hākim to disavow him was the story of the man whom the chief of police had beaten so that he died, as related previously.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Rakīk,¹ in his history of North Africa, has related the story of this al-Husain and al-Hākim. He says (in the exact words): “And al-Hakim killed his cadi, Husain ibn ‘Alī, and had him burned in fire.” It is said that one of the reasons of his killing him was that al-Hākim had been very liberal to him;² but had made the condition that he should keep his hands off the people’s money. A certain man who had a grievance sent a paper to al-Hākim, in which he told him that when his father died he had left him 20,000 dīnārs, and that it had been placed in the dīwān of the cadi Husain. He (the son) was living for some time upon this money. He had come one day and asked for some of it; but the cadi told him that all that his father had left was spent. Al-Hākim summoned the cadi and showed him the complaint. The cadi answered just as the complainant had averred, adding that whatever had been left by the man’s father had been spent on the man’s living. Al-Hākim at once ordered the books of the cadi dealing with this matter to be brought. When this was done, al-Hākim looked up the accounts of the man, and it turned out that he had received only a little of the actual sum. Most of it was found to be still due him. Al-Hākim enumerated to the cadi the high offices he had given him, the various gifts and honors, and his having made the condition that al-Husain should not touch³ the people’s money. He was afraid and terrified, and said, “Forgive me, and I shall do better.” He went away

¹ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Kāsim al-Kātib al-Kaīruānī al-Rakīk al-Nadīm (Brockelmann, i, 155). His *Ta’rikh Kairuān* is not mentioned by Brockelmann; but it is cited by Nuwairī, ‘Idhārī, Maqrīzī, Maḳkārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Ḥāfi Khalīfa, etc. See Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Aegyptens*, i, 9. The present citation shows that Becker is right in placing his death later than 383 A.H. (the date given by Brockelmann).

² Cf. the expression: مَلَأْ عَيْنَهُ وَقْلَبَهُ.

³ Reading with Ms. 5893 التعرّض.

with the man and paid him what was owing in the presence of witnesses. But al-Hākim bore him a grudge and had him thrown into prison. Then he was taken out upon an ass in broad daylight, the people looking on and following him until he came to the loggia, where he was beheaded and his body burnt.

He held the office of cadi for five years, seven months and eleven days. Al-Musabbīhī says that he once pronounced the li‘ān between a drunken man and his wife in the Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīk, which was without precedent under the ‘Ubaidites. ‘Al-Hākim gave to the aforementioned cadi as a fief a house in the vicinity of the Khalīj al-Hākimī.¹ When the Nile was high he went (in a boat) to this house; the notaries came to him by land upon their donkeys. Then he rode from it to the Kāṣr and returned; after which he went to his dwelling-place in the Dār al-Hamrā.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘man ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Manṣūr ibn Ahmad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Kairuāni was an Ismā‘īlian of the fourth century. He was born on the first of Rabī‘ 1, 355. He was appointed cadi on Thursday, Ramaḍān 16, 394, and the revision of judgments was given in his power. He was invested in the usual way, being carried upon a mule, while two other mules were led before him, and a trunk filled with garments was carried in front of him. He entered the jāmi‘, a large assembly being present. His diploma was read out from the pulpit. His first act as judge was to dismiss all the notaries whom his uncle al-Husain had been accustomed to receive, with the exception of Sharaf ibn Muḥammad al-Makrī, whom he appointed to write down his decisions and his law cases. In his protocols the following was his title:² “The Chief cadi ‘Abd

¹ The Great Canal, variously called *Khalīj Miṣr*, *Khalīj Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*, *Khalīj al-Hākimī*, etc.; see *al-Khiṭāṭ* ii, 138; *Siyūṭī*, *Husn*, i, 76; Ibn Iyās, *Tarīkh Miṣr*, p. 163, and de Sacy, *Relation de l’Egypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 419, note 11.

² The titles here given are of interest. He is called the “Cadi of ‘Abd Allāh,” with reference to the Shi‘ite pretensions of descent from ‘Alī who is the **ولي الله عليه** (Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 43). Manṣūr is part of the caliph’s name: Manṣūr abū ‘Alī. The formula **صلواة الله عليه وعلی ابائه الاطاهرين**, to which is usually added (*ibid.*, p. 25 et al.), has a like reference. When al-Jauhar came to Fusṭāṭ, he had the following words added at the end of the Khuṭba: “O my God! bless Muḥammad the chosen, ‘Alī the accepted, Fāṭima the pure, and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, the two grandsons of the Apostle;

al-'Azīz cadi of 'Abdallāh and of his representative Mansūr Abū 'Alī the Imām al-Hākim, commander of the faithful—may God bless him and his pure fathers—over Al-Kāhira of al-Mu'izz, Miṣr, Alexandria, the Two Holy Places, the districts of Syria, al-Rahba, al-Rakka, the Maghrib, together with its provinces,

them whom thou hast freed from stain and thoroughly purified (الذين)

(اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهّرهم تطهيرًا). O my God! bless the pure Imāms, ancestors of the Commander of the believers (لهم)

(وصل على الأئمة الطاهرين آباء أمير المؤمنين). In the interesting bit of Genizah poetry by one Solomon ben Joseph ha-Kōhēn (published by Julius H. Greenstone in AJSL., January, 1906), the Fātimids are also called הַתְהוּרִים (line 8). There are a number of such references to peculiar Muhammadan titles and expressions, e. g., l. 5 המלך אֹמִים (in line 9) האם=הכהן=8a ; الملك الاعظم=הנדוול קען 11 ; الراشدون=השלמים=8b יחיהו דר מעונם; أمير الجيوش = צבאות אשר חרבו מרוטה 1. 14a ; السيد الاجل=Rאש לכל ראשם 12a cf. قضى=Rאש למחכימים 113 ; شيخ=זקן 20 ; سيف الاسلام القضاة.

In a notarial document written for the Chief Cadi al-Kāsim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Nu'mān (an account of which will be published in the JQR. for April, 1907) and referring to the rebuilding of one of the old synagogues in Cairo, the full title of al-Mustansir is given. It is interesting to compare the extent of the caliph's rule there mentioned with that to be found in the diploma of his cadi. He is described as :

امير المؤمنين على المعزية القاهرة الحروسة والشام والرقعة والرحبة [والحرم] بين ومدينة حلب والقبروان [وسنها] جة ونواحي المغرب [وما فتحه الله] عز وجل [وما يسر] فتحه لامير

المؤمنين من بلدان الشرق والمغرب. In the memoir mentioned above, I have given all necessary explanations. Ibn Zūlāk in his كتاب تاريخ مصر وفضائلها (Paris Ms. 1817, p. 47a) says :

الخلفاء الفاطمية يحكمون من مصر الى الشام الى حلب الفرات الى مكة المشرفة الى القدس والخليل وصارت مصر والفرات

as well as whatsoever God has given into his power, and he has made easy to be conquered by the Commander of the Faithful (in the countries of the East and West).”¹

And ‘Abd al-‘Aziz nominated to be his successor as judge Mālik ibn Sa‘id al-Fārikī, and in [matters relating to] petitions Ibn Abī ‘Awwām. The notaries whom he had not received hung around his door; so he sent to them [saying]: “Court duties have increased greatly upon me and I shall need your assistance in receiving testimony. Each one of you must attend to his business; and whenever I need one of you for testimony, I will make an appointment with him.” Then they left him. [p. 258, 1] But on the 17th day of Dhul-Ka‘da he had them come and made them take an oath that they had made no efforts to find employment as notaries under his uncle, that they had neither bribed him nor otherwise induced him to appoint them.² They took the oath in regard to this, and he received them.

Al-Hākim caused ‘Abd al-‘Aziz to mount the minbar with him upon Fridays and upon festive occasions, as had been the custom of his predecessors. His power in legal matters extended and his station became exalted. He took his seat in the jāmi‘ and commenced to expound the work of his grandfather entitled “*The Basal Distinctions of the [Different] Schools of Law.*” During his occupancy al-Hākim made over to him the care of the Dār al-‘Ilm³ which he had instituted. Al-Hākim [namely]

كتاب عيون المعارف . بيمملكة واحدة Al-Kuḍā‘ī, (Paris Ms. 1490,
فصل في بيان المهديين . و מדת دولته المهديين fol. 141b):
ويقال لهم الفاطميين ايضا مائتان وسبعون سنة حكمهم في
مصر مائتا سنة حكمهم في بلاد الشام وحلب ودياربكر وبين
مائة وثمانون .

¹ These words are added from Ms. 2152.

² The Ms. reading لـه ولا رشدة ولا عدوا (عروا) seems impossible. I suggest the reading: ولا رشوة ولا اغروة, and have translated accordingly.

³ The Dār al-‘Ilm, or “House of Science,” was founded in order to propagate Shi‘ite teaching in Egypt. Al-Makrīzī (*Khiṭāṭ* i, 458) has a circumstantial account of its foundation drawn from al-Musabbiḥī, who is evidently the authority followed by Ibn Ḥajar. The Dār al-‘Ilm was opened on the 10th of the second Jumāda 395 A.H. and was closed by Ibn ‘Abd al-Tāhir al-Afḍal ibn Amir al-Juyūsh in the sixth century A.H. See, also, Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, vol. i, p. xxix.

had built and arranged it, and had placed in it many scientific works, throwing it open to the Fakīhs, allowing them to sit in it doing whatsoever they pleased—copying, studying or reading; after it had been furnished, the hangings placed upon the doors, and the necessary arrangements made for its attendants and for the servants in charge of the furniture.

This ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was appointed to sit and to converse with al-Hākim. The cadi found it necessary to give his older son al-Ķāsim permission to participate in his legal functions at the jāmi‘, where he sat to hear cases and to decide disputes. People were accustomed to take cases from him to his father and from his father to him. His younger son he ordered [p. 259, 1] to verify¹ the documents which people brought, and to render decisions in a court held in his own dwelling. In addition, al-Hākim appointed him ('Abd al-‘Aziz) to administer the estate of his cousin Husain ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān, after that one had been killed; so he took charge of all his property. He did the same with the estate of Abu Mansūr al-Jauzī, one of the prominent men of his reign. He preferred the cadi as prayer-leader over a number of his assistants; the custom having come into vogue that the caliph alone should lead them in prayer. He commanded him to forbid men and women to promenade in the streets on the ‘Āshūrā festival;² it being their (i. e. Alid) custom to send out women and others who poured forth lamentations, who wept for al-Husain, and who chanted dirges in the streets. The crowds were accustomed to stretch forth their hands to the goods of the merchants. This having come to the ear of al-Hākim, he commanded the cadi to forbid their going about in the streets and [to order] that they should only lament and chant in the open country.³

It happened that a certain Kutāmī⁴ owed a certain sum but refused to pay it. It having been in his possession during a bad

¹ Or “to register.”

² On the ‘Āshūrā festival, see the data which I have collected in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* s. v.

³ I. e. the space between Cairo and Jabal al-Mukattam, called in al-Makrizi's time “The Smaller Ḫarāfa.” See *al-Khitāṭ*, ii, p. 455.

⁴ The Kutāma were a Berber tribe. ‘Ubaid Allāh, the founder of the Faṭimid dynasty, was a Kutāmī. See *al-Istakhri*, ed. de Goeje, p. 39, below.

year,¹ he had appropriated it for himself. The case came to the attention of the cadi, who sent a messenger to the man; but [the messenger] was spurned. The matter was then brought to the attention of al-Hākim, who ordered the Kutāmī to be dragged before the cadi in Fustāt. Then he was brought on foot to al-Kāhira and compelled to give up that which was due. Al-Hākim [also] entrusted to the cadi the care of the mosques, the handling of the wakfs, the collection of the products [belonging to them] and the application of them [p. 260, 1] as he should think well. This he did to the best of his ability, detailing for the purpose two tellers who should pass upon accounts.

The cadi betrothed his two sons to the daughters of the kā'id Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ. The ceremony was held in the castle, the marriage contract being for four thousand dīnārs which al-Hākim accorded from the public treasury. He bestowed upon them ready-made robes of honor and sixteen double pieces of cloth. The two were carried upon saddled mules, similar ones being led before them.

The cadi was severe in his judgment; his authority was great, and he exercised authority over all the people of the kingdom. He gave orders that those notaries who should absent themselves in the morning up to the time of the majlis on Mondays and Thursdays should be mulcted in a heavy fine. His delegate at court, Mālik ibn Sa'īd, asked him to appoint al-Khalil ibn al-Khalil in his place, as something had happened to him preventing him from riding or from going to court. This request he granted; though this had not been permitted to any other, that a delegate should name his own substitute in the city.

Al-Musabbihī relates in his history—when detailing the events of the year 397 [A.H.]—the following circumstances, the gist of which is: 'Alī ibn Sulaimān al-Munajjim,² one of the intimates of the commander-in-chief al-Hasan [p. 261, 1] ibn Jauhar, told him that the cadi was visiting al-Husain ibn Jauhar the kā'id in his dwelling upon one of the Christian's fast days. He found there Abū al-Hasan al-Rasī,³ al-Munajjim and their

¹ The reading in the text is difficult. In lieu of it, I would suggest

وكان عند شدة بأس وعجرفة.

² Or "the astrologer."

³ The reading of the name is not clear in the MSS.; but see al-Dhahabī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 246; Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie*, p. 121.

attendants. A servant came in to say that Abū Ya‘kūb al-Kistās, the physician, was at the door. He was invited to come in, the company being at table. They made him welcome and a number of dishes were placed before him. Then the table was cleared and drinks were brought, also the fruits and scents belonging thereto. They fell to until they became drunk. The cadi then went away; while the kā’id and al-Rasī fell asleep. Abū Ya‘kūb, the physician, remained in a portico which he had built in this place—the portico overlooked a large stretch of water¹—drinking and enjoying himself until he was overcome by drunkenness. They then went out looking for his mule. The mule of al-Rasī was brought, but he refused to mount it. The servants begged him to return to his place until his own mule should be brought. So he went back to where al-Rasī was, and slept at his side. Then one of the lackeys came and lifted the curtain, looking for the two. He saw al-Rasī but did not see Abū Ya‘kūb; so he entered and searched for him; and [in the end] caught sight of the tail of his garment in the water. He called a lackey who knew how to swim; this one jumped into the water, and found Abū Ya‘kūb with his garments rolled around his face and sunk in the water. The servants sent word to the kā’id, summoned the cadi, and waked up al-Rasī. [p. 262, 1] The [whole] matter was most disagreeable to them, as they knew the consideration al-Hākim had for al-Ya‘kūb. They begged me to inform al-Hākim of what had happened. I went to him and told him that Abū Ya‘kūb had gotten up during the night while in a stupor, and had jumped into the river; and that when the lackey got to him he found him caught in his clothing and drowned. This grieved al-Hākim, who appeared to be very much affected. He had the matter looked into. The exact circumstances were related to him, but he shook his head.

The cadi, al-Rasī and the kā’id, however, had come to the castle on foot with fine turbans on their heads. Al-Hākim summoned them [to his presence]. They swore and affirmed upon oath that they had had nothing to do with the whole affair. The kā’id and the cadi called al-Rasī to witness, and he testified to their innocence. Orders were then given that the body should

¹ The description confirms Dozy’s suggestion (ii. 41) that the طارم, was a “portique ouvert.”

be prepared and buried. This occurred towards the end of the year 397 [A.H.].

On Thursday, the middle of Rajab 398, the report was spread abroad that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the cadi, had been deposed and that his successor, Mālik ibn Sa‘id, had been confirmed. When the morning came, he did not go to the court until near mid-day. Then he did go; held court, led the mid-day prayers and went off all alone, without chamberlain or footman, until he came to his dwelling place. As the day commenced to decline, certain people went around to all the chief men telling them to collect in the castle on the morrow. [p. 263, 1] So they all assembled before Mālik ibn Sa‘id, who was invested with the various functions with which ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had been invested—whose term of office had [thus] lasted three years, nine months and twenty-eight days.

Al-Musabbihī says: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz dismissed from office thirteen persons while he sat as appeal judge, and two during his cadiship. After his deposition, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was in the habit of going to the castle alone, though constantly expecting to be killed. On the 13th of the second Jumāda, 399 [A.H.], the kā’id Husain ibn Jauhar and the cadi went out riding according to their custom, and they came back without any incident having occurred.¹ Then [al-Hākim] sent for them; and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz going first, was clapped into prison. His servant returned home [alone] with his mule; whereupon the kā’id and his son hid themselves. But the door of their house was broken in and al-Hākim gave stringent orders that they should be brought. This being found impossible, al-Hākim gave word that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz should be released, who returned to his dwelling place. The people were already making preparations for his funeral, but he quieted them. The shop-keepers had also closed their booths; these he ordered to be opened again. After three days, the kā’id went to al-Hākim unmolested. Splendid robes were presented to him and to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz; before them many garments being carried. They were led [in state] upon two horses, many horsemen preceding them. Then al-Hākim gave back to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz the hearing of appeal cases. His certificate was read out; he was clothed with

¹ فَسَلَّمَ ; or “having greeted” [al-Hākim.]

ready-made garments [p. 264, 1] and with the *tailasān*. He was led riding upon a mule; before him was another and in front of him was carried a chest full of garments. He was [thus] confirmed¹ on Ṣafar 9th, 400 [A.H.] The revenues of a fief were given to him, and upon the door of his dwelling-place a plaque was put with the name of the *dīwān*. On the last days of Ramaḍān the cadi's sons married the daughters of the *kā'id* to whom they had been betrothed.

In the latter part of Muḥarram 401 [A.H.] the cadi and the *kā'id* became suspicious of perfidy on the part of al-Hākim towards them; and on Ṣafar the 9th the cadi, the commander-in-chief Ḥusain, their followers and their friends took to flight, carrying with them much of their wealth, and went in the direction of Dujwa.² When al-Hākim heard of this, he put seals on their dwellings and ordered Mālik ibn Sa'īd al-Fāriḳī to ride to the dwellings of the cadi and of al-Husain; to seize whatever he might find there and to carry it off. The cadi and the *kā'id* kept in hiding until Muḥarram the 6th, 401 [A.H.] when they appeared, a safe-conduct having been written for them. They remained at their posts until Friday, the 12th of Jumāda, on which day they were present at their posts and then returned. At once al-Hākim sent to them and they came back; whereupon a band of Turks killed both in the vestibule. The seal was at once put [p. 265, 1] on their dwellings, their houses were immediately surrounded, and they passed away unavenged. Many of their followers were seized and fined.

'Abd al-'Aziz was learned in the canon-law of the Imāmī rite, as his whole family had been, especially his grandfather. The Sheikh 'Imād al-Din ibn al-Kathīr³ attributed to him the authorship of a work entitled *Al-Balāgh al-Akbar wal-Nāmūs al-A'zam* dealing with the principles of religion. But in this he was mistaken; for it was a work composed by his father giv-

¹ Reading وَسْتَقْرٌ .

² Dujwa or Dijwa, six parasangs from Fustāṭ, Yākūt, ii, 555, in the Sharqiyya province. This can hardly be the present دجوى, marked in the Egyptian Postal Guide (*Maṣlahat al-Busta*, Cairo 1906, p. 268) as being in the Kalyūbiyya province.

³ Born 1301, died 1373. The reference may be to his large historical work, *Al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, Brockelmann, ii, 49.

ing the ideas of al-Nu‘mān, that one’s father. Ibn Kathīr says that the cadi Abū Bakr al-Bākilānī¹ wrote a refutation of this work. Ibn Kathīr adds “It contains heterodox ideas, the like of which Iblīs himself would not have conceived.” Such were his words.

Kāsim ibn Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān al-Maghribī belonging to the Imāmī sect, of the fifth century. He was called Abū Muḥammad, and was put in office after Ibn Abī al-‘Awwām² on Sunday, the 4th of the first Jumādā, in the year 418.³ His diploma was published in the ḫaṣr and in the jāmi‘ of Fustāṭ. He received the title Kādī al-Kudāt, Thikāt al-Daula, Amīn al-A‘imma, Sharaf al-Aḥkām, Jalāl al-Islām.⁴ He exercised his functions until he was deposed on Sunday the 25th of Rajab in the year 419, he having lasted for one year, two months and some days. This was his first tenure of office. In his place was appointed ‘Abd al-Hākim ibn Sa‘id ibn Mālik al-Fārikī. On the 6th of Dhul-qa‘da, in the year 427, Kāsim was re-appointed to office, presided over civil [p. 266, 1] and criminal cases, and (also) over the preaching. In this period of office al-Kudātī was appointed and became his locum tenens in this, his second period. Kāsim was not praised for his conduct, although his term of office lasted for a long time, until he

¹ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far ibn al-Kāsim al-Bākilānī, died 1013. See Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii. 671. Perhaps the work referred to is his *Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭinīyya* mentioned by Ḥāfi Khalifa, v, 199.

² I. e., Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī ‘Awwām.

³ Al-Musabbihī, in treating of the year 415, mentions the fact that al-Tāhir had al-Kāsim ascend the minbar with him. He is here called only “Chief Preacher.” Becker, *Beiträge*, i, 72, 4.

⁴ The synagogue document above referred to (of the year 429 A.H.) gives his title as follows: مولانا قاضي القضاة وداعي الدعاء امين

الائمة شرف الاحكام جلال الاسلام ذو الجلالتين والرياستين
ابن عبد العزيز ابو محمد ابن النعمان Al-Siyūṭī (vol. ii, p. 102)
ولقب بقاضي القضاة وداعي الدعاء وثقة الدولة
وامير الامراء وشرف الاحكام

was deposed in al-Muharram 441; this second term having endured thirteen years, one month and four days.¹ The verses in which both he and Ibn 'Abd al-Hākim al-Fārikī were ridiculed have already been cited.²

Abū al-Kāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān is the same as Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz previously mentioned.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE AND SOME CORRECTIONS.

P. 224. I am not quite correct in saying that the history of the Egyptian cadis was first written by al-Kindī. Professor Torrey calls my attention to the fact that this was done before him by Abū al-Kāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (died 257 A.H.). This was not apparent from any of the reference books; but see now Torrey, "The Muhammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Bicentennial Publications), N. Y. 1901, p. 279: "Appended to the history proper is a collection of brief biographies of the *qādīs* of Egypt, from the Conquest down nearly to the author's own time." It forms the sixth of the seven parts of the *Futūh Misr*. As it stops at the year 246 A.H., it is evident that al-Kindī has based his treatise upon these notes of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. I purpose to edit al-Kindī's account of the cadis.

P. 229, note 4 read Ravaisse.	P. 245, 9 read زوجها .
P. 239, 13 read الشرطة .	P. 248, 9 read جبارا .
P. 240, 1 read أبا .	P. 248, 13 read برجوان .
P. 242, 1 read فتنجح .	P. 250, 8 read واستخلفه .
P. 242, 4 read وسكت .	P. 251, 4 read وقبلهم .
P. 243, 11 read القضاة .	P. 254, 5, 10 read يسجل .
P. 245, 2 read قاضي .	P. 254, 10 read قرأ .
P. 245, 3 read ثقانة .	P. 256, 16 read النظر .

¹ Al-Makrīzī (*al-Khīṭat*, vol. i, p. 355) says that he held office for fourteen years; but this is probably not meant to be absolutely exact.

² In some other biography of this same work.